41: Ewers

NF6 Blackfoot NF6

462
562
834

[For information on male-female differences in painting styles, see Categories 531 and 532, pp. 15-B--16-A, 19-B--20-B.]

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The children, at least the boys, played about and did as they pleased. Not so with the girls. Their duties began at a very early age. They carried wood and water for their mothers, sewed moccasins, and as soon as they were strong enough, were taught to tan robes and furs, make lodges, travois, and do all other woman's — and so menial — work. The boys played at mimic warfare, hunted around in the brush with their bows and arrows, made mud images of animals, and in summer spent about half their time in the water. In winter, they spun tops on the ice, slid down hill on a contrivance made of buffalo ribs, and hunted rabbits. 105 512 857 562 868 [462]

Shortly after noon, the hunters began to return, bringing in deer, antelope, buffalo, elk, occasionally bear, and, sometimes, beaver which they had trapped. The camp began to be more lively. In all directions persons could be heard shouting out invitations to feasts. Here a man was lying back on his couch singing and drumming; there a group of young men were holding a war dance; everywhere the people were eating, singing, talking, and joking. As the light faded from the western sky and darkness spread over the camp, the noise and laughter increased. In many lodges, the people held social dances, the women, dressed in their best gowns, ranged on one side, the men on the other; all sung, and three or four drummers furnished an accompaniment; the music was lively if somewhat jerky. At intervals the people rose and danced, the "step" being a bending of the knees and swinging of the body, the women holding their arms and hands in various graceful positions. 105 512 [224] [535] [533]

With the night came the rehearsal of the wondrous doings of the gods. These tales may not be told in the daytime. Old Man would not like that, and would cause any one who narrated them while it was light to become blind. All Indians are natural orators, but some far exceed others in their powers of expression. Their attitudes, gestures, and signs are so suggestive that they alone would enable one to 105 512 537 538 [784]

766 that he might have plenty to ride on his journey to the
768 Sand Hills, and to use after arriving there. If a man had a
[775] favorite horse, he might order it to be killed at his grave, and his order was always carried out. In ancient times, it is said, dogs were killed at the grave.

765 Women mourn for deceased relations by cutting their hair
• 562 short. For the loss of a husband or son (but not a daughter), they not only cut their hair, but often take off one or more joints of their fingers, and always scarify the calves of their legs. Besides this, for a month or so, they daily repair to some place near camp, generally a hill or little rise of ground, and there cry and lament, calling the name of the deceased
[533] over and over again. This may be called a chant or song,
[152] for there is a certain tune to it. It is in a minor key and very doleful. Any one hearing it for the first time, even though wholly unacquainted with Indian customs, would at once know that it was a mourning song, or at least was the utterance of one in deep distress. There is no fixed period for the length of time one must mourn. Some keep up this daily lament for a few weeks only, and others much longer. I once came across an old wrinkled woman, who was crouched in the sage brush, crying and lamenting for some one, as if her heart would break. On inquiring if any one had lately died, I was told she was mourning for a son she had lost more than twenty years before.

Men mourn by cutting a little of their hair, going without leggings, and for the loss of a son, sometimes scarify their legs. This last, however, is never done for the loss of a wife, daughter, or any relative except a son.

551 Many Blackfeet change their names every season. When-
[553] ever a Blackfoot counts a new *coup*, he is entitled to a new name. A Blackfoot will never tell his name if he can avoid it. He believes that if he should speak his name, he would be unfortunate in all his undertakings.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

nation. The men wore a shirt, breech-clout, leggings which reached to the thighs, and moccasins. In winter both men and women wore a robe of tanned buffalo skin, and sometimes of beaver. In summer a lighter robe was worn, made of cowskin or buckskin, from which the hair had been removed. Both sexes wore belts, which supported and confined the clothing, and to which were attached knife-sheaths and other useful articles. 000 291 237

Necklaces and ear-rings were worn by all, and were made of shells, bone, wood, and the teeth and claws of animals. Elk tushes were highly prized, and were used for ornamenting women's dresses. A gown profusely decorated with them was worth two good horses. Eagle feathers were used by the men to make head-dresses and to ornament shields and also weapons. Small bunches of owl or grouse feathers were sometimes tied to the scalp locks. It is doubtful if the women ever took particular care of their hair. The men, however, spent a great deal of time brushing, braiding, and ornamenting their scalp locks. Their hair was usually worn in two braids, one on each side of the head. Less frequently, four braids were made, one behind and in front of each ear. Sometimes, the hair of the forehead was cut off square, and brushed straight up; and not infrequently it was made into a huge topknot and wound with otter fur. Often a slender lock, wound with brass wire or braided, hung down from one side of the forehead over the face. 237 531 [301] [435] 302 [562]

As a rule, the men are tall, straight, and well formed. Their features are regular, the eyes being large and well set, and the nose generally moderately large, straight, and thin. Their chests are splendidly developed. The women are quite tall for their sex, but, as a rule, not so good-looking as the men. Their hands are large, coarse, and knotted by hard labor; and they early become wrinkled and careworn. They generally have splendid constitutions. I have known them to resume work a day after childbirth; and once, when 142 147 [846]

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 wives, and does little except to direct the others in their [554] work, and look after the comfort of her husband. Her place in the lodge is on his right-hand side, while the others have their places or seats near the door-way. This wife is even allowed at informal gatherings to take a whiff at the pipe, as it is passed around the circle, and to participate in the conversation.

595 In the old days, it was a very poor man who did not have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than 556 a dozen. I have heard of one who had sixteen. In those 178 times, provided a man had a good-sized band of horses, the more wives he had, the richer he was. He could always find young men to hunt for him, if he furnished the mounts, and, of course, the more wives he had, the more robes and furs they would tan for him.

586 If, for any cause, a man wished to divorce himself from a woman, he had but to send her back to her parents and demand the price paid for her, and the matter was accomplished. The woman was then free to marry again, provided her parents were willing.

587 When a man dies, his wives become the potential wives of 428 his oldest brother. Unless, during his life, he has given them outright horses and other property, at his death they are entitled to none of his possessions. If he has sons, the property is divided among them, except a few horses, which are given to his brothers. If he has no sons, all the property goes to his brothers, and if there are no brothers, it goes to the nearest male relatives on the father's side.

567 The Blackfeet cannot be said to have been slave-holders. ● 562 It is true that the Crees call the Blackfeet women "Little 593 Slaves." But this, as elsewhere suggested, may refer to the region whence they originally came, though it is often explained that it is on account of the manner in which the Blackfeet treat their women, killing them or mutilating their features for adultery and other serious offences.

Although a woman, all her life, was subject to some one's orders, either parent, relative, or husband, a man from his earliest childhood was free and independent. His father would not punish him for any misconduct, his mother dared not. At an early age he was taught to ride and shoot, and horses were given to him. By the time he was twelve, he had probably been on a war expedition or two. As a rule in later times, young men married when they were seventeen or eighteen years of age; and often they resided for several years with their fathers, until the family became so large that there was not room for them all in the lodge.

There were always in the camp a number of boys, orphans, who became the servants of wealthy men for a consideration; that is, they looked after their patron's horses and hunted, and in return they were provided with suitable food and clothing.

Among the Blackfeet, all men were free and equal, and office was not hereditary. Formerly each gens was governed by a chief, who was entitled to his office by virtue of his bravery and generosity. The head chief was chosen by the chiefs of the gentes from their own number, and was usually the one who could show the best record in war, as proved at the Medicine Lodge,[1] at which time he was elected; and for the ensuing year he was invested with the supreme power. But no matter how brave a man might have been, or how successful in war, he could not hope to be the chief either of a gens or of the tribe, unless he was kind-hearted, and willing to share his prosperity with the poor. For this reason, a chief was never a wealthy man, for what he acquired with one hand he gave away with the other. It was he who decided when the people should move camp, and where they should go. But in this, as in all other important affairs, he generally asked the advice of the minor chiefs.

The *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* (All Comrades) were directly under

[1] See chapter on Religion.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

ring, brass ear-rings, and a little bottle made of two copper cartridge cases. 778 782 823

Down on Milk River, east of the Sweet Grass Hills, is another medicine rock. It is shaped something like a man's body, and looks like a person sitting on top of the bluff. Whenever the Blackfeet pass this rock, they make presents to it. Sometimes, when they give it an article of clothing, they put it on the rock, "and then," as one of them once said to me, "when you look at it, it seems more than ever like a person." Down in the big bend of the Milk River, opposite the eastern end of the Little Rocky Mountains, lying on the prairie, is a great gray boulder, which is shaped like a buffalo bull lying down. This is [171] greatly reverenced by all Plains Indians, Blackfeet included, and they make presents to it. Many other examples of similar character might be given.

The Blackfeet make daily prayers to the Sun and to Old Man, and nothing of importance is undertaken without asking for divine assistance. They are firm believers in dreams. These, they say, are sent by the Sun to enable us to look ahead, to tell what is going to happen. A dream, especially if it is a strong one, — that is, if the dream is very clear and vivid, — is almost always obeyed. As dreams [121] start them on the war path, so, if a dream threatening bad luck comes to a member of a war party, even if in the enemy's country and just about to make an attack on a camp, the party is likely to turn about and go home without making any hostile demonstrations. The animal or object [176] which appears to the boy, or man, who is trying to dream for power, is, as has been said, regarded thereafter as his secret helper, his medicine, and is usually called his dream (*Nits-o'-kan*). 776 782 787

The most important religious occasion of the year is the ceremony of the Medicine Lodge. This is a sacrifice, which, among the Blackfeet, is offered invariably by women. If a [562] [782] 796

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

saddle. The Blackfoot considered the double saddlebag a woman's piece of luggage. Men did not carry these bags on their horses.[64]

RECTANGULAR RAWHIDE SADDLEBAGS

Single saddlebags of rawhide were commonly transported on women's horses. The rectangular bag was made from a single piece of rawhide, folded at the bottom and laced together along the sides. It was closed by a flap at the top. The side exposed to view (when the case was hung over a saddle horn, by a skin cord passed through two holes burned in the back a short distance below the top flap) generally was painted in geometric design. Some of these cases had long, cut-skin fringes pendent from the side seams. The construction and decoration of this type of bag is described and illustrated by Wissler (1910, pp. 76–78) and Ewers (1945 b, p. 18).[65] (See fig. 23, *b*.)

CYLINDRICAL RAWHIDE SADDLEBAGS

The cylindrical container is made of three pieces of rawhide. The largest piece was rolled into a tube and the overlapping long edges laced together. The other two pieces were rawhide disks which served as covers for the tube, one tied over each end of the tube by buckskin cords. Many cylindrical cases of this type have long, cut-skin fringes pendent from the long side seam. (See illus. in Wissler, 1910, pp. 78–79, and Ewers, 1945 b, p. 18). This tubular case was suspended from the saddle horn in traveling. Two holes were burned in the tube at a point opposite the seam, and a skin cord was passed through them and over the saddle horn. Painted, geometric designs were used in the decoration of this case. As this type of case was used primarily for carrying ceremonial objects it was less common than the rectangular form[66] (fig. 23, *a*).

If the rawhide parfleche was a post-metal-knife development among the Plains tribes, as has been suggested (p. 116), it is probable that

---

[64] This type of container is well represented in Museum collections from the northern Plains. Some specimens from the Teton Dakota are exquisitely beaded. Teit (1930, pp. 111, 354) recorded its use by the Couer d'Alene and Flathead. The double saddlebags of the Apache are distinguished by the use of cut-leather decoration. However, Kiowa informants said that tribe did not make this type of bag in their youth, although they obtained some of them in trade from other tribes. The fur trader, Charles Larpenteur, implied that the form of this saddlebag was copied from the Whites, although it was in common use among the Upper Missouri tribes in his time (i. e. ante-1850) (Larpenteur, 1898, p. 67).

[65] Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) has recorded the occurrence of this type of bag among the Hasa, Gros Ventres, Kutenai, Yakima, Nez Percé, Arapaho, Dakota, and Thompson. Teit has described and illustrated them from the Flathead and Coeur d'Alene (Teit, 1930, pp. 111, 354).

[66] Similar cases were employed by other Plains and Plateau tribes. Wissler (1910, p. 79) reports them from such widely separated tribes as the Nez Percé, Ute, Assiniboin, and Comanche. Kiowa informants told me members of that tribe formerly used the cylindrical rawhide case for storing and transporting feather bonnets exclusively.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Blackfoot Indians of the middle class shared the advantages of that higher standard of living made possible by the ownership and use of horses. Generally their possessions were more modest in number, size, and/or quality than those of rich people, but they were surely finer and more numerous than those of the average Blackfoot in pre-horse times. The middle-class man possessed the means to enable him to participate fully in the social, economic, and religious life of his band and tribe. On rare occasions he might need assistance from his relatives in assembling horses for gifts or purchases.

It is questionable, however, whether the poor were not worse off than they would have been in the Pedestrian Culture Period. Their possessions actually may have been no more meager than were those of the average family in earlier times. But during the Horse Culture Period their lodges, clothing, weapons, etc. were so inferior as to make their living definitely substandard. Lack of horses alone prevented them from hunting buffalo or moving camp with their fellows unless they received assistance through loans of horses by wealthy relatives or band leaders. They became dependent followers of the leader who offered them most in economic security. Their poverty denied them participation in many activities which previous writers have considered typical of Blackfoot culture in general, such as the companionship of polygamous marriage, membership in societies, the wearing of elaborately decorated dress clothing, and the manipulation of complex and powerful sacred bundles.

Yet under the conditions of life prevailing in buffalo days the Blackfoot class system did not become crystallized. Hazards beyond their control prevented members of the wealthy class from becoming permanently entrenched. Enemy horse raiders, winter storms, or disease might wipe out the rich man's herd quickly and without warning. Buffalo-Back-Fat's sage advice to members of his family (pp. 241–242) to invest heavily in valuable other than horses, might have counteracted the damaging effects of such losses upon social status had it been more widely followed. If wealth might be short-lived, poverty need not be permanent for the poor young man who possessed ambition and courage. Through aggressive action, in repeated raids upon enemy camps, he might acquire the horses necessary to raise both his economic and social status. The rise of poor but ambitious young men as well as the fall of unfortunate wealthy families kept the class system fluid.

Women's status was decidedly improved as a result of the acquisition of horses. Women were emancipated from the toil of carrying heavy burdens in moving camp and from active participation in prolonged hunts afoot. Some of the time and energy they saved may have been devoted to the perfection of arts and crafts for which there must have been an increased demand, now that people could transport

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

many changes of clothing and seek handsome gear to show off their horses. The decadence of slave raiding decreased women's fears of being taken captive by alien peoples.

The coming of the horse offered greater security to the aged and the physically handicapped. Whereas their lives were formerly sacrificed because they could not be taken along with the moving camp, these people could live well in the Horse Culture Period if they owned horses which others might use to kill buffalo and move camp for them. Stingy, the wealthy, blind, influential Piegan (frequently mentioned in previous pages), probably would have died in infancy had he been born during the Pedestrian Culture Period.

The band, basic political and residential unit among the Blackfoot, probably was a stable, exogamic organization of blood relatives, led by the most able, mature man in the group in the Pedestrian Culture Period. By the waning decades of buffalo days the Blackfoot band had become a fluid organization, composed both of related and unrelated families, within which marriage was permitted. Necessity for extensive reorganization of bands following serious plagues and war losses in historic times undoubtedly contributed to this change in the character of Blackfoot bands. Dependence of the poor in horses upon the charity of wealthy leaders helped to keep the bands fluid. The poor followed the leader who was able and willing to offer them the greatest security through dispensing gifts of food and gifts or loans of horses. They readily shifted their band allegiance if they thought they could improve their condition thereby.

It is doubtful whether the ability to dispense individually owned property to other band members was a factor of any importance in the selection of a band chief in the Pedestrian Culture Period when, presumably, there were no marked extremes of wealth and poverty. However, in the Horse Culture Period requirements for band leadership came to include considerable wealth and a willingness to employ it for the alleviation of the poor.

INFLUENCE ON RELIGION

If the Blackfoot Indians looked upon dogs as sacred animals in the days when dogs were their only domesticated animals, their descendants appear to have no traditions regarding that attitude. I have found no trace in Blackfoot culture of a dog cult organized for the express purpose of appealing to dog spirits for aid in doctoring or influencing the actions of dogs.

On the other hand, the horse came to occupy a position of considerable prominence in Blackfoot religious beliefs and rituals. The sudden appearance of this animal, whose services did so much to lighten the daily tasks of the Indians and to raise their standard of living,

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

of buffalo. The horse became an invaluable aid in scouting and allowed entire bands to follow the movements of the herds. In addition the horse was used as a pack animal. Formerly, when hunting parties went on foot they were limited in the amount of meat they could carry back to camp. It was the practice to take only the best cuts and leave the remaining meat to decay. The horse made it possible to transport more meat and hides back to camp. The horse therefore insured a larger and more regular food supply, lessening the contrasts between periods of plenty and periods of scarcity. However, it was the fur trade which allowed the Blackfoot to utilize the productive capacities of the horse to the full, for we have seen that the fur trade provided a market for dried provisions, buffalo hides and horses.

Marriage

It is well to recall that over 20,000 robes were annually gathered at Fort Benton. Since the Blackfoot, and especially the Piegan, were the principal traders at Fort Benton we can gauge the effects of this trade upon their lives. The increased burden of preparing provisions and tanning put new demands upon female labor and increased the economic importance of women. Polygyny grew to an extent unprecedented for the Plains.

From the journals of those who visited the Blackfoot at various intervals in the history of the fur trade we can piece together a picture of this growth of polygyny. In 1787 Thompson observed that three or four wives were not uncommon and that the greatest number any man had was six.[118] From his account we conclude that most men had only one or two wives. When Thompson returned in 1800 he reported no change. Alexander Henry, the younger, who was with the Blackfoot in 1810, reported six or seven wives as the greatest number.[119] Maximilian writing in the 1830's mentions eight wives in the case of wealthy chiefs.[120] Unfortunately, there is a great gap in the historical information on this subject until about 1870. However, tracing back to 1840 a number of genealogies gathered from informants, we have found further evidence for this steady increase of wives. Grinnell, writing of approximately the same period (1840) stated, "... it was a very poor man who did not have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some even more than a dozen; I have heard of one who had sixteen."[121] Denny, a captain in the first contingent of the Northwest Mounted Police in 1874, and later an Indian agent for the Blackfoot, wrote, "I have known Blackfoot with as many as twenty or even thirty women so acquired (by pur-

[118] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
[119] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 526.
[120] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[121] G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 218.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

dignity they conferred."[146a] This suggests a very different condition from the frequent buying and selling of the 1850's–1880's which is attested to by field material. Culbertson tells us that a bundle was valued at nine horses.[146b] This too, is far below the later bundle prices of thirty to sixty horses.

Judging from our more complete information of the reserve period there seems to be a direct relation between the fluidity of bundle transfers and the price of bundles on the one hand, and the number of horses. Thus, with the falling off in the number of horses on the North Piegan reserve following the depression of 1929, the bundle transfers practically came to a standstill and there was a sharp fall in the prices paid for them.

Our material therefore suggests that the greater fluidity in bundle transfers is related to the expansion in Blackfoot economy and the increase in wealth that we have already noted. We have seen that the increase in the size of herds and the growth of polygyny occurred in the eighteen thirties and thereafter. It is significant that the first mention in the literature of medicine bundles and the fact that they were sold for horses also occurs in this period (1833).[147]

This raises the question of the age of Blackfoot medicine bundles. When Thompson visited the Piegan in 1787 he made no mention of bundles and specifically observed that medicine bags were absent. It may be assumed that had bundles been present Thompson would have mentioned them because of their resemblance to medicine bags. The following passage from Thompson's journal gives an interesting account of medicine pipes, which were probably the precursors of the medicine pipe bundle.

"The natives of the forest pride themselves on their Medicine bags, which are generally well stocked with a variety of simples which they gather from the woods and banks of the Lakes and Rivers, and with the virtues of which they are somewhat acquainted. The Indians of the Plains had none of these . . . But these people must also have something to which they can attach somewhat of a supernatural character for religious purposes; and for this purpose they have adopted the Red Pipe, and Pipe Stem, which seems to have been such from old times . . . for a medicine pipe there are certain ceremonies to be gone through and a woman is not allowed to touch a medicine pipe . . . and their long pipe stems are equally sacred. These are of three to more than four feet in length, and about three to five inches in girth and well polished. Each respectable man has from three to four of these pipes which are tied together when not in use and hung on a tree; on removing from place to place the owner slings them over his back and at the encampment again hangs them up."[148]

[146a] Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[146b] *Idem.*

[147] *Idem.*

[148] Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The statement that a woman is not allowed to touch a medicine pipe makes it quite clear that he is not referring to the medicine pipe bundle, for in the case of the latter husband and wife were the normal ritual unit. Thompson's statement about the absence of medicine bags is significant, for in 1833 Catlin gives a detailed description of Blackfoot otterskin medicine bags.[149]

While this evidence is not sufficient to determine the age of medicine bundles among the Blackfoot, it at least suggests as one possibility that the bundle complex came in between 1787 and 1833. In any case we believe that the commercialism in bundle transfers which sets the Blackfoot apart from other Plains groups developed in the period after 1830.

Changes in Warfare

Probably there have been no changes in any aspect of aboriginal culture greater than those which have occurred in warfare. These changes were brought about by the introduction of the horse, gun, and fur trade on the northern Plains.

It must be pointed out here that our conclusions for the Blackfoot are at variance with those made in Smith's intensive study of Plains warfare, and suggests that the problem of the effect of the horse and gun on the Plains may profitably be re-examined. Dr. Smith writes,

> "With due consideration to their cultural importance (horse and gun) there is however, no conclusive evidence that they revolutionized war procedures. Apparently, their effect was not radically to change the existing war complexes, but to accelerate the momentum of warfare."[150]

This conclusion is based on a survey of the distribution and varieties of war honors, methods of counting coup, scalping, and motives of war on the Plains, without due regard to time perspective and diffusion. The author's "war complex" which is a static picture of nineteenth century Plains warfare, assumes a degree of stability and integration of the above elements which seems unwarranted. In view of the non-historical approach, it is not surprising that no "evidence" of vital changes was found. It is our purpose to show on the basis of the historical documents the nature of the changes in the motives, methods, and organization of Blackfoot warfare.

Early Warfare

In one of the most dramatic accounts in the literature, we are treated to a description of a pre-horse battle between the Piegan and the Shoshone given to David Thompson in 1787 by an old Piegan chief, Saukamappee.

---

[149] Catlin, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[150] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Shoshone cavalry. The guns brought by the Cree, however, more than offset the Shoshone advantage. We are also given a more detailed picture of the organization of the war party. The large body of over 350 warriors was grouped into small units, probably the band groupings, under the direction of their respective chiefs, who in turn were led by the decisions of the war chief. The selection of a war chief by all the bands is in contrast to later procedure, as is the elaborate feasting, singing, and dancing which took place in the preliminary ceremonies and even on the field of battle. The line-up of fighters on both sides, the large size of the war party, and the bold show of numbers are also to be noted.

The great emphasis on numbers in this account brings us to one of the most important differences between aboriginal Blackfoot warfare and Blackfoot warfare of the nineteenth century. Before the gun and horse a simple difference in numbers might well decide the outcome of the battle. Large war parties were therefore essential. This necessitated band co-operation and made war a tribal affair. At the same time it called for close co-operation between individuals on the battlefield for their strength in numbers depended upon unified action. With the introduction of the horse and gun all this changed. As we have seen the few armed Cree and Assiniboine were now considered "the strength of the battle". It is this new importance of equipment as over against men (numbers) that distinguishes the 'primitive' Blackfoot warfare from that of the later period.

Motives

Economic motives were not lacking in early Blackfoot warfare but they differed from those of later years. They were principally, the defense and expansion of tribal hunting grounds, and the capture of women. Women were necessary to strengthen the tribe, both by their own numbers and as child bearers. This was a vital consideration, and had great survival value, —a point frequently appearing in the mythology. Captive women were therefore usually married and adopted into the family. The relatively few casualties in warfare must have resulted in a much more even proportion between the sexes. The almost three to one preponderance of women over men which was a "normal" condition in the nineteenth century did not exist in the days before the horse and gun.

After the coming of the whites, the capture of women received a further impetus and took on new significance, as loot, for women captives were sold to the traders. Umfreville, (1790) writes,

"In these war excursions many female slaves were taken, who are sold to the Canadian traders, and taken down to Canada."

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

"... none are spared but young girls, who are taken captive and sold to the Canadian traders ...."[133]

As early as 1774, Cocking mentions the exchange of two young girl captives between the Blackfoot and the trading Indians (Cree), who acted as middlemen for the Hudson's Bay Company.[134] We have not been able to determine the extent of this trade, but our material suggests that it was of some importance.

After 1830, women captives were no longer sold or traded. They were now valued by the Blackfoot as an additional labor supply to meet the new needs of tanning hides and preparing provisions for the enormous market provided by the fur trade. Here again, the old importance of women in terms of numbers was overshadowed by their new importance as aids in the acquisition of the new equipment (guns, amunition, etc.), that had become so necessary to Blackfoot life.

Loot as an objective of pre-horse war was restricted to weapons, leather armor, tools, and other small articles. These objects had usefulness but were of limited economic value, and in a sense fell into the category of war trophies.

Another motive for war was the desire for scalps and the prestige connected with scalp taking. Early in the eighteenth century an old Piegan chief tells us, "... we were fond of war, even our women flattered us to war, and nothing was thought of but scalps for dancing and singing."[135] Warfare had little of the commercialism of later years, but was intimately tied up with religious motives which later almost completely disappeared.

An interesting aspect of this is found in Thompson, in Saukamappee's recounting of a theological discussion concerning questions of scalping and the use of the soul of a slain enemy. A successful war party had returned with over fifty scalps. A war tent was made where all the chiefs, warriors, and mourners, assembled.

"All those whose faces were blackened for the loss of relations or friends, now came forward to claim the scalps to be held in their hands for the benefit of their departed relations and friends; this occasioned a long conversation with those who had scalps; at length they came forward to the War Chief. Those who had taken the trophy from the head of an enemy they had killed, said the Souls of the enemy that each of us has slain belongs to us and we have given them to our relations in the other world to be their slaves, and we are contented. Those who had scalps taken from the enemy that were found dead under the shields were at a loss what to say, as not one could say he had actually slain the enemy whose scalp he held, and yet wanted to send their souls to be the slaves of their departed relations. This caused much discussion, and the old chiefs decided it could not be done; and that no one could send the soul of an

[133] Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson Bay*, pp. 177, 188.
[134] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[135] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

778 The final public gesture was revealing. After a ceremonial capture and
437 days spent in negotiation, the concluding phase of the transfer was reached. Mounted on a painted horse and carrying the pipe on his back, Harvey returned to the tipi of the seller. Outside were ranged the horses to be paid. In due time, the seller emerged, danced up a small aisle opened by the spectators, scrutinized the horses carefully, and slowly nodded his acceptance. The bargain was struck. In this business-minded community a seller is not always satisfied, however; then additional horses must be brought in or the deal is called off even at this late hour.

778 Buying a bundle is a protection, a responsibility, a means of enhancing
182 prestige, and a speculation. But—symptom of the changing times—cere-
[178] monial consummation may have to wait: Harvey Fleet Foot held up the Sun Dance for three days. He had to cultivate his fields.

V. Some Further Aspects of Contemporary Interpersonal Relations

Men and Women

562 Women as a class have benefited from reserve life for the white man's law
657 now protects their property and person. Serious assault and murder are
586 severely punished. As early as 1883, one agent noted the results with a certain regret: "As the old law of cutting off a woman's nose for leaving her husband is done away with, women do as they like."[176] And desertion no longer relieves the erring husband of all responsibility. But it must be admitted that official interference in this last, though encouraged by the outraged wife, has proven none too effective; the abandoned woman and her children usually return to her parents for consolation and support.

562 The law has also favored women in matters of inheritance. In an earlier
428 day, most of them, to be sure, owned some property; a few, through gift or
178 medicine power, owned considerable, and in the late buffalo period, many seem to have expected a substantial share in the paternal inheritance.[177] Wissler, writing in 1910, observes, "... nothing goes to the widow. She may, however, retain her own personal property to the extent of that brought with her at marriage. She may claim, though not always with success, the offspring of her own horses."[178] Today, "though not always with
[177] success," she claims a good deal more. Bulwarked by white example and force, she demands not only a stake in her father's estate but in her husband's as well.

---

[176] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[177] See story of Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff. A

[178] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 27.

A [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

In 1808, Henry wrote in his journal, "The women appear to be held in slavery and stand in awe of their husbands."[179] Their work, was indeed hard and long. They cooked the meals, treated the skins, sewed them into clothing and tipi coverings, raised and lowered these cumbersome shelters, and saw to the transportation of family goods on the march. "The young men," again comments Henry, "appear proud and haughty, and are particular to keep their garments and robes clean. The women are a filthy set."[180]

Yet even in this hunting and raiding society of the past, women enjoyed a comparatively strong position—and this despite their onerous duties, the payment of a bride price, the continual suspicion and accusation of adultery, the harsh punishment for a breach of fidelity.[181] For in those not too distant days, a woman could lead a war party; she could be designated a favorite; she could own property, receive and exercise medicine power, and give names. She was a necessary part of every ceremonial transfer; she was the custodian of the bundles that her husband bought. The public initiation of the Horn Society still dramatizes the man's dependence. It is the wife who receives the power from the seller. Her husband can only gain possession from her.

Above and beyond the pressure of the reserve, the Blood woman has maintained this early importance. Although differently expressed, she is today, as she was in the past, a valuable asset. Her tanning and bead-work make a great show on ceremonial occasions; she runs her husband's home and participates in his transactions; she keeps her earnings and has considerable say about his; she chooses her partner in the social dance; she is still a necessary adjunct to his ceremonial life. Undeterred by the threat of punishment, she accepts flirtatious advances and often initiates them. She is secure in her womanhood.

But like the man, it is the rich woman in particular, although sometimes the beautiful one, who is arrogantly sure of herself. A rich woman is spoiled and demanding. A beautiful one will not hesitate to take another woman's husband or flaunt her lover before her own when he cannot satisfy her with handsome clothes. Rich or poor, she may leave her husband at will; but the fathers of the poor are apt to urge their daughters to remain, while fathers of the rich have frequently been known to take them home "because their husbands didn't treat them right."[182]

---

[179] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, p. 526.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 572. Cf. also Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253; Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 271; and Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 10 ff.

[182] *Ibid.* Wissler quotes a Piegan as saying, ". . .if a man who gives a few presents or pays nothing becomes exacting, the woman's relatives will remark that as he paid little or nothing he should desist; they may even take her away and find another husband for her."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

577 156 562 [556] Some few women on the reserve are called "manly-hearted."[183] They come, with one exception, from families rich in horses. The exception, significantly, is a half-breed whose antecedents had neither property nor prestige. However, her aggressive personality and her present success—she is now the wife of a chief and in good circumstances—make her inclusion in this group completely acceptable to the Blood.[184]

[556] In many respects the behavior of these women resembles the behavior of men of wealth, but the essential pattern of their lives always remains safely within the framework set for women as a sex. A manly-hearted woman never wears men's clothing; she marries, and frequently she marries many times; she has children. But early in childhood she will exhibit her independence and aggressiveness. She will strike other children who are older and bigger; she will even strike an older brother who is a privileged "favorite." She will visit around and stay out over-night though other girls remain obediently at home. She may make advances in affairs of the heart; she may refuse to marry the man of her father's choice; she will marry in her own time, and she will not hesitate to beat off an irate husband. She [581] is usually an excellent worker. This as well as her passionate response to love make her a desirable mate despite her wilfulness and domineering ways.

It is on the strength of her total personality that a woman is called manly-hearted, and the category covers a considerable range of behavior. Some may become vowers of the Sun Lodge, and their sexual aggressiveness may be tempered by the "chaste" life required of them.[185] Others may believe that their status depends upon building up a "favorite," even if he dominate them; still others may feel sufficiently secure in their own wealth to dominate their "favorite."[186] Trends of behavior observable among women of wealth are intensified in the manly-hearted woman. While frequently disparaged, they make her, paradoxically enough, even more desirable.

[556]

---

[184] [183] Lewis has reported that there are fourteen manly-hearted women on the North Piegan Reserve (*Manly-Hearted Women among the North Piegan*, p. 176). The Blood, whose population is more than double that of the North Piegan, cited only nine (Harry D. Biele, Field Notes). It is possible that due to the spread of wealth, those personality traits that distinguish the manly-hearted woman have become so general in certain groups of Blood, that the special designation seems of lesser significance. For an example in the past, see Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff. A

[184] [184] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 177. Here Lewis claims that such an upstart would never be classified among the manly-hearted women by the Piegan.

[796] [185] I know of no manly-hearted woman vowing the Sun Lodge in bravado, fully aware that her former life made her ineligible to do so. For a contrary statement, see Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 184). However, there are instances among the Blood where a woman was forced against her will to make the vow so that her husband might be sure of her virtue. Such sins do not go unpunished. (See story p. 51.) B

[186] See pp. 65 ff. C

A, [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

B, [See Category 796--Analyst] C, [See Category 159--Analyst]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inherited property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

JEALOUSY.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases. . . . When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. . . . There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticized for marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief (*ni'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women, but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork, there was no widespread or standardized recognition of these accomplishments that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[9] Hence the kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing factors to disrupt its efficient working.

Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds

The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority. Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman, with children to be tended, and with other women categorized in terms of generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the past for both partners.

[9] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 159 ff.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[778] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these
[575] activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[571] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
581 through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
582 obtain the rewards of the culture.

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful.

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son."

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names.

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male

The male relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property, nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be obliged to care for this property. Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids, uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notorious cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and non-relatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn, stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless, in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared with own children is striking.

Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

Competition for honors was a potentialty disintegrating force in the relations between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother. In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

593 621 571 Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not [581] maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

937 562 [577] [578] Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the [684] frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the [621] co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Pat- [152] terns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved [578] from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey [593] to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warning by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly understood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more [697] secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by [765] the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

593 571 937 684

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

114 passed. However, intra-family economic dependencies and household
592 population had increased. In Chapter III of this work I explore com-
178 parisons of 1921 and 1966 households in much greater detail. I double
127 the 1921 sample by including the Old Agency District farming and ranch-
ing cooperatives, acreages cultivated correlated with family type (a
128 test of my hypothesis concerning family types and economic resources not
121 made previously), racial ancestry of unsuccessful and relatively successful farmers, ranchers, and wage earners, among other topics.

114 I also analyzed Blackfeet family ethics, using twenty conjugal
593 pairs who were raising or had raised children in Heart Butte, and showed
591 that repeated exposures to a wide range of kinsmen, brought about mainly
599 by economic need, generate cooperativeness and generosity. At least 50
per cent of the families in my sample could not successfully pursue the
114 individualistic Protestant ethic because poverty thrusted them back on
597 kinsmen for economic support. I imputed a middle class ethic to those
511 who succeeded economically, based on my observations of their behavior.
[182] Families with incomes of approximately $4,000 per annum and up tended to
114 sever mutual economic assistance relationships and generally their re-
591 sources are consumed by the individual family unit. Automobiles, land,
593 houses and home improvements are purchased when possible. Generally a
511 strategy of individual family enrichment is pursued, at least during the period when these families are doing reasonably well.

114 And finally, I briefly assessed the authority positions of males
593 and females in the parental generation. Authority in the family was
562 strongly linked with control and ownership of family dwellings and the

land on which dwellings are located. Males were generally dominant. Land and dwellings served to attract erstwhile migrants to remain on the reservation in preference to urban life.

This resume of previous work sets down several hypotheses that have been confirmed: (1) that low and unstable income causes related families to join under a single roof, if kin are available to form such households, or (2) that low and unstable family income also causes related families to live adjacent to one another on land owned by an elder kinsman to form intensive cooperative units and to defray rental expenses; (3) scarce economic resources in the past (1921) brought about intensive economic cooperation among related and unrelated families which continues today, although resources have changed from federal annuities, meager farming and ranching to wage labor, welfare and revenues from leased land. These and other hypotheses will be re-examined in the forthcoming chapters. Severe restriction of access to resources is used throughout this study as the central variable. This variable will be cited where necessary as I build my explanations with extensive detailed data. The household unit is used throughout as a sensitive indicator of the level of economic resources available to the sample populations.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

agency and resold to the Indians. Women buy yard goods to make their dresses. Buckskin dancing outfits, made from purchased skins and beads, are owned only by wealthier individuals. It is not surprising that 16 per cent of the income goes for this type of article. Some saving could be effected for household goods as well as clothing if Indians were able to buy merchandise of better quality. As it is, they must buy only the least durable.

The individual variation depends on size of income, number of dependents, and extent of social participation. Among the poorer people with dependents as much as 80 per cent of the income goes directly to whites for merchandise and services. These people tend to curtail their expenditures for gifts, travel, entertainment, and tribal functions. To spend money on tribal functions usually means that one is oneself an elder in a functioning age-group or religious society or one has kinsmen who are members. Bachelors with few dependents and even with small incomes, tend to spend a larger share on travel, gifts, and entertainment. In this respect they are like wealthier persons with dependents who may spend only about 50 per cent of their incomes on necessities, while a greater proportion goes through intra-reserve channels to Indians.

Distribution of Wealth and Social Classes

Of the 800 people on the Blackfoot reserve in 1939 there were 222 males over eighteen, the age when, having finished their schooling, they are expected to begin earning their own living. Of these males about 30 were not married and had no families to support; they were supported in part by their parents or their brothers. This leaves roughly 190 men who must support their families and other dependents. Females eighteen years or over numbered about 185. The preferred practice is to marry girls as soon as they leave school. Thus women are cared for in the family unit by husbands, parents, or brothers; widows commonly return to the houses of their brothers or their sisters and hence need not be considered separately.

Through the agency a portion of the reserve income goes to all Blackfoot or to all members of limited classes of Blackfoot, such as the aged. For all individuals this income includes rations and annuities. Between the ages of seven and eighteen all children receive from one of the two boarding-schools an elementary education, board, and keep. All persons over fifty receive additional annuities,

of mutilation. This brings to our attention the enhanced status of women through the application of white law. Through English precedent a Blackfoot woman may hold property in her own name, thus having authority which lies beyond the control of her husband. Furthermore, English law does not reinforce the authority over her by the male members of her family, as does Blackfoot practice. Thus in a case where a woman complained to the agent about mistreatment by her husband which had the approval of her own brothers, the case would probably be decided in favour of the woman by a white magistrate. Women are legally freer today than formerly. Naturally such legal practices have undermined much of the familial authority. It has been broken down further by years of boarding-school life away from the elders, as well as the white law which permits an adult female self-determination, once she has passed the eighteenth birthday.

On the side of the male other factors have further undermined marital stability. In the former polygynous households, relations with another woman could sometimes be legalized by incorporating her into the family as a co-wife. Of course, this is not permissible today. Moreover, the number of services performed by a woman for her husband have decreased. Though cooking and child tending continue, the hides that she once tanned, the tipi and buckskin clothes that she once made are either not desired, or their equivalents can be purchased from stores. Economically, wives are less valuable.

Remarriage after separation or death of a spouse is vastly simpler than initial marriages. Relatives, preferably the older brothers, of a woman usually select a satisfactory male who, in case of acceptance, notifies the agency of the event. The customary five dollars in cash is given again and notice sent to the stock-man concerning the delivery of rations. Male initiative in proposing marriage also occurs, though via an intermediary; in such cases a woman is expected to consult her male relatives before an answer can be given. Elopement of an unmarried girl does occur, but amends should be made to the offended authority of the woman's brother by sending a proper gift, traditionally a horse. In case of an elopement from a husband, the wife's brothers, if they approve the change, should relay the gift to the offended husband.

Such a picture of marital instability, hence household instability, superimposed upon the amorphousness of many extended families, shows the fluidity of reserve social structure. The points of stability

/Northern Blackfoot/

439 276 178 The Blackfoot gave names to the different forms of introduced (trade-goods) tobacco: Crow Cut, Twist, Pressed, Hudson Bay. These gradually replaced the native plant in the rituals.

276 796 Ritual smoking was begun by an orderly, who filled the pipe (Fig. 6) and passed it, unlit, to the man sitting next to the officiating ceremonialist. [554] This man had the favored position because of his wealth in bundle ownership. He drew on the unlit pipe four times and then passed it back to the orderly, who lit the pipe and gave it to the man next to the distinguished bundle-owner. This man drew on the pipe four times (not inhaling) and blew the smoke upward. Then the pipe was passed sunwise (clockwise) to each participant until it reached the door of the tipi, whence it was returned to the [562] orderly. The pipe was not passed across the door to the other side of the lodge, where women and children were seated. If the pipe went out during the smoke, it was given to the orderly, who cleaned and refilled it.

[554] The manner in which the participant received the pipe varied according to bundle ownership. Thus, a Medicine Pipe bundle-owner would grasp the pipe roughly with both hands half clenched, imitating the actions of a bear.

276 796 554 A ceremony in which smoking had special significance was the Big Smoke, or All Smoking, ceremony. This ceremony was confined to ceremonialists, diviners, and bundle-owners. They gathered for the single purpose of recounting their prestigious and wealthy positions in the tribe. The Big Smoke commenced at sundown and continued until daybreak, and there was [533] continuous use of many pipes. Four songs were allowed to be sung for each bundle owned; participants would often qualify for sixteen songs or more.

WILLOWS

Salix spp.

137 Many species of willow occupy habitats from the highest alpine ridges

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

them when you are going to transfer the medicine pipe." And that is what we did, and now I am still wearing my shell necklace every day. It helps me to grow old.

I will give you an example of how much you have to sacrifice to follow our Indian religion. The medicine pipe bundle was transferred to us in a house. It happened during the winter. When the ceremony of transfer was over, and the many horses and blankets had been paid to the former owners, my father told Firemaker: "Please initiate my daughter to carry the bundle on her back. She may have that need sometime in the future." We could not do anything with the bundle until we were initiated. Firemaker went through the proper ceremony, and they put the bundle on my back, with the heavy straps over my shoulders. My father brought a good team of horses to the door for Firemaker, just to pay him for this one particular initiation.

I have had a beaver bundle for many years. It is the biggest medicine bundle of all the ones among our people. There is a very long ceremony for its opening, and they used to sing several hundred songs during it. The men and the women all join together to sing these songs and to dance with the different parts of the bundle. We imitiate the bird and animal skins in them. We used to have a really happy time with this beaver ceremony, but now there is no one left who can lead it. I guess I have the last beaver bundle among the Bloods.

These things-that-sing [Blackfoot for radios and record players], I dislike them very much. When they are shut off I can still hear them going in my head. Sometimes when I'm in my room, praying, I feel like I'm trying to outdo those things. My daughter gets up and shuts it off and tells the kids around the house: "When your grandmother is praying you don't want to drown her words with your music." Then they listen, and I can hear myself.

My daughter that nearly died—the one I put up my first Sun Dance for—she was also a member of the Horns Society.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

That is the Bloods' secret society for men, and she is one of the few women that ever joined as a full member. Usually women only join with their husbands, except those of us who put up Sun Dances may not join at all. My husband was a member without me, and he also made the pledge for our daughter to join, when she was so sick. She took over the membership bundle from Crop-Eared Wolf, our old head chief. I made her a new beaded outfit of buckskin to wear during the society's public dances. You couldn't even tell that she was not a man. She was pretty slim, anyway.

Besides having a daughter join the Horns Society, my son named Sacred Child joined it when he was only fourteen, which is very young. We have also owned four different painted lodges. They were all very old designs, handed down from long ago. The Fish-Painted Lodge was given to one of my grandchildren by my husband, before he died. He also gave our Yellow-Painted Lodge to another grandchild. He said: "I will give these to my grandchildren so they can be put on small tipis and they can play in them," but he died before this could be done.

THE STORY OF CATCHES-TWO-HORSES

Our Blackfoot relatives in Montana had a famous head chief named White Calf, who died in Washington, D.C., while on tribal business in 1903. He had eight wives and many children. One of these wives was Catches-Two-Horses, who was born around the mid-eighteen hundreds. In 1923 she gave the following story to Walter McClintock, from whose notes I quote her:

"I was seven years old when I became the wife of White Calf. My older sister was already his wife. I remember my age, because I had lived one year with my husband before

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

strength of the child. Yellow-Painted Lodge asked: "Do you want this baby to become a man?" Little Bear told him he did. Then he told Little Bear to make incense. He said: "I will sing my power song. If my power comes alive then I will give its name to this baby and it will grow up to be a strong man. He brought out his rawhide spider and placed it on a bunch of grass and began to sing. After he breathed on his hand, the spider began to move around, then ran across the floor to Little Bear and his wife. They saw it. Then it went back to Yellow-Painted Lodge, who put it away. He said: "Since my power has come alive for your child, I will give him the name Spider."

Spider lived to be an old man who died just a few years before I was born. He was a farmer whose favorite pastime was going to Indian dances. The old people say that when he danced he drifted so gently that he looked like a piece of eagle down. He always wore very elaborate beaded costumes, painted his face with bright and striking designs, and combed his hair in special styles for which he was noted. He never cut his hair during his lifetime, which earned him his other name, Long Hair.

THE INITIATIONS OF PAULA WEASEL HEAD, A BLOOD ELDER

by Paula Weasel Head

I'm going to tell you a little bit about the holy initiations that I have gone through in my lifetime of over seventy years, to show you what a woman can take part in with our tribal culture. Because my father loved me very much he took me along with him to all kinds of ceremonies that he went to. His name was Iron, and he was famous for going through more holy initiations than anyone else here, among the

462 smoking and entertaining his friends. Yet my grandmothers did it for as long as they could walk, and they were not known to complain. They brought water, too, from the holes that they chopped into the frozen river. But my grandfathers, in turn, spent countless frozen days and nights out on those same cold winter days, seeking food to kill and bring home; or defending their families from prowling enemies; or hiking several hundred miles to bring home needed horses and social honor. Times have changed so much that we can barely imagine the daily challenges faced by our forefathers. For that reason it is pretty hard to make any judgments about the ways they did things.

462 Let me just say that in the culture of my people the work
562 of the women was generally respected and honored, for the men knew very well that they could not live without them. The people of the past thought it a great honor that the women should bear and rear the children, ensuring that there would be people in the future. Equally honorable was the women's work of creating the lodges that made the homes, taking them up and down when camp moved, heating them, and providing the bedding and clothing for the household
554 members. In the social life of my grandmothers, a household was judged not only by the bravery and generosity of the man, but also by the kindness and work habits of the woman. Even the wife of a poor man could find honor among the people by being a good housekeeper.

000 This traditional life of housekeeping was passed from mother to daughter through daily experience, not in classrooms or from books. That is why I feel that the Sun Dance encampment is so important for the young among my people. That is also why I feel that young women should offer their help and friendship to the old. What better way is there to learn which wood burns best in a fire, and which kind of meat is best to roast? How else would I know that one of the finest rewards for being an old woman comes from going outside the

at the knees and occasionally shouting, to help and inspire the dancing men. One medicine pipe bundle has had the unusual custom that women are allowed to dance with its contents as well as the men—one taking turns with the other. This is the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe which has belonged to Paula Weasel Head and is discussed elsewhere.

Another tradition common to all medicine pipe bundles also allows women to dance. This happens if a woman is near death and she or a relative calls on the powers of a certain sacred pipe to rescue her. If she survives, then she is allowed to dance with the sacred pipe, or another part of its bundle. However, her dance is very subdued and serious, compared to the general medicine pipe dancing done by the men. It is considered a very special blessing, for which the woman and her relatives are expected to make generous gifts of blankets and other goods to the bundle's keepers. This custom is still followed today. For many women it has been their only opportunity to be so close to one of the sacred tribal articles.

The beaver bundles of my ancestors had ceremonies even more involved than those of the medicine pipes. These bundles contained the preserved skins of nearly every kind of bird and animal that lived in the country of our tribe. Each of these skins had one or more songs that was sung during parts of the ceremony. At the same time participants danced with the skins and imitated the bird or animal with symbolic movements. Some of these dances were done by the men, some by the women, and several involved both. One of the concluding dances symbolized the mating of buffalo. Two at a time, the men and women dancers paired off and did their best to imitate the actions of wild buffalo, much to the delight of the rest of the crowd watching.

Another ceremonial dance in which women imitate the actions of buffalo is done by the ancient society for women, the Motokiks. I have heard that this society was once active among all the divisions of the Blackfoot Nation, but today it functions only among the Blood.

functions only among the Bloods. Every year, during the Sun Dance encampment, the members of the group put up a special lodge inside the camp circle. For four days they have their meetings and religious ceremonies, most of which are private. Men take part during only certain of these ceremonies, especially the public dances, when four men with rattles sing the dance songs. The members wear ancient headdresses that they keep inside their medicine bundles throughout most of the year. These, and the Natoas used in the Sun Dance, are the only medicine bundles belonging specifically to women, and they are very highly regarded by all the tribe.

When the days of war parties and scalp-taking ended, in the later eighteen hundreds, the old Scalp Dance evolved into a social dance known as the Circle Dance, or the Long-Tail Dance. It was a slow dance in which the people joined hands and arms and moved sideways in large circles. Men, women, and children all took part, but from looking at old photos it seems that the dancers were most often rows of women. This dance is still performed, though at a slightly quicker pace, under the current name of Round Dance. It is the native version of a "slow dance," and is often requested when the fast dancers are about worn out.

Another popular dance for both men and women is called the Owl Dance. It has a lively hard-soft drumbeat to which the people generally dance in couples, following each other in a circling or waving line around the dance floor. Some fancy-dressed men follow this dance alone, while others follow with a woman in each arm. Even the elders seem to enjoy this dance a lot, although when they were young tribal customs frowned on the public display of intimacy necessary to do it properly. Like most of the new Indian-style dances done by the Bloods, this one was introduced from other tribes.

Dances have always been important in the courting life of my grandmothers. They were among the few occasions in the past when young men and young women were allowed to be

A [i.e., of the women's society, Motokiks--Analyst]

blessed as well so they would have the rights to wear them. This custom was carried over from the old Scalp Dances, when the women wore their men's war clothes and carried their weapons while dancing with the scalps.

There were even special headdresses, of the men's style, that were transferred only among women, to be used during the Circle Dances. I have heard that there were four of these among the Bloods, but they were probably all buried with their last owners.

This discussion of dancing would not be complete without some comments on the dances today, since these are among the main cultural events still attended by a large number of my people. When you watch today's Indian dancers and dances you can readily see how their roots came from the ancient dances I have just described. Like everything else in life, however, many changes have taken place over the recent generations and times. Women take part in practically all the dances. A few girls have been seen dressed in men's fancy clothing, including breechcloths and headdresses, and performing modern versions of the old-time War Dance. Others have come out on the dance floor with buckskin miniskirts and similar modern fashions. Even those wearing street-clothes of pants and blouses are permitted, as long as they have the mandatory shawl over their shoulders.

One of the pleasures of watching women at these current dances is that some come out wearing fine traditional clothing that is seldom seen otherwise. A number of women at Blood dances wear beautiful buckskin and trade-cloth dresses inherited from grandmothers who made them back in the old days. Others wear new dresses copied after these old-time ones. In recent years there has been a revival of traditional clothing styles, among both women and men dancers. Before that, the men often experimented with new styles inspired by other tribes and even other nations, while the women remained pretty much with their own tribal styles.

535 The most common style of Indian dancing, nowadays, is the modern War Dance, or Fancy Dance, in which the men do a lot of lively steps and gyrations. In the long ago the [178] [562] women always just watched this kind of dancing. But today women can be seen on the dance floor at every round except those announced specifically for men only, which are usually the contest dances. There are separate rounds of contest dances for the girls and the women, during which the men watch. Women are expected to dance with grace and modesty, not with lively steps and gyrations. They are judged by the smoothness of their steps, the flow of their hands and bodies, and their overall appearances. Indian audiences used to be amused when non-Indian ladies would make occasional appearances on the dance grounds, trying to combine the fast drumming with lively ballroom steps, and missing the point of modesty and smoothness altogether. In recent times, however, some of the younger girls have taken to newer dance styles that are sort of a cross between those of the men and the women. They often wear modernized styles of Indian dresses, 178 with long, thin fringes that accent their lively movements. A 533 few groups of girls and young women have even invaded the 562 traditional men's domain of powwow drumming and singing, and won praise for their efforts. In the past, women with a desire to sing the catchy powwow tunes had to be content standing around the men drummers and singers and helping them with high falsetto voices that often added hauntingly beautiful harmonies.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Myths and Legends of My Grandmothers

538 773

ONE OF MY FAVORITE childhood memories is sitting by my grandmothers and hearing them tell us kids the many different myths and legends that have been handed down from my ancestors. Just like the fairy tales of other peoples, our legends let childhood imaginations do the impossible. However, many of these legends gave as much entertainment to the adults as to the children. In fact, many were specifically adult legends, full of suggestive topics and tribal adventures. In keeping with our tribal traditions, I cannot tell these legends in a public place, such as this book.

538 773 562

Although wars and fighting are popular topics for primitive legends, the ones that I have learned have a lot of mystical adventures of women. Perhaps the telling of these was a form of release for my grandmothers, whose daily lives were usually less dramatic than those of the men. Many legends tell of women who married wild animals and had children by them, a topic which could have many more meanings for a life close to nature than we might understand in these modern times.

Many Blackfoot legends involve the origins of our complex sacred ceremonies, medicine bundles, and warrior societies. These stories are further evidence of the high social

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

standing achieved by the women in my grandmothers' times. Women take part in most of these legendary religious origins, and they are the recipients of the most important religious rituals that are described. Although virtuousness is stressed in all aspects of our culture, it is interesting to note in these stories that most of the rituals are presented to women after they have had unusual relationships with mystical beings. Usually the rituals are given to the husbands or parents of the women by the mystical beings. This is in keeping with our tribal traditions, which allow a man to regain his honor for violating a wife or daughter by making generous presents to the husband or parents. However, the husband may refuse the presents and take, intsead, the life of the wife or lover, or both.

Another interesting fact about our tribal legends is that they account for the origins of many natural sights and phenomena that children would normally be curious about. In addition to specific origin stories for religious ceremonies and articles, and for such things as stars and constellations, we have the many legends of Napi, in which the origins for everything from the lands and mountains to sewing and tanning are brought out. Lacking the scientific knowledge of the modern world, my grandmothers settled for these legendary origins in any questioning. This kind of attitude might be called primitive by many today, but it worked just fine when the people were mainly concerned with living in harmony with nature, rather than with pursuing scientific theories. In other words, whatever my grandmothers couldn't explain to their children from actual knowledge they explained by the telling of a myth or an ancient legend.

The legends given in this book are only a small sampling of the many that existed. Each storyteller gave a slightly different version, depending on how it had first been told to her or him. Storytelling was a favorite pastime in the old days, and every interesting incident was told and retold. Even in my

will usually appear on the south side of the lodge, 532
the female on the north. Sex is depicted either by 822
sex organs, minor color changes, or by horns. The [562]●
placement of the sexes on the outside of the tipis is, by custom, opposite that of the persons seated inside, as the place for women seated inside a tipi is on the south, and for men, on the north. Perhaps this originally signified some spiritual relationship between the lodge's spiritual guardians and its occupants. If so, this symbolism was probably lost when the People no longer lived a daily life in harmony with nature.

As few as one pair or as many as four pairs of animals are painted in the center band. The animals usually have "lifelines" representing the major organs. A lifeline begins at the mouth and is drawn in sections of red and green. It runs to the heart, which is painted red. Two green circles toward the animal's rear represent the kidneys.

The basic color of the large central area is most often red or yellow, and less often brown, green, blue, or the basic white of the cover material itself. If the original owner was taken into [787]
water during the dream in which he was given the design, the background color is usually yellow. If the dream occurred on land, the color is most [776]
often red or brown. Designs given by birds or other Spirits from above most often are white or blue.

Tipis without a symbolic representation of the dream animal's home will have instead one of two other symbols drawn in the back. The most common is a circle for the spiritual center of the universe. Sometimes the symbol is like a bull's-eye, several concentric circles representing Sun, Moon, and Earth.

The area at the top is usually painted black for Night Sky, when dreams are most common. In the back of this part of the tipi, a Maltese cross is usually painted in yellow or orange, representing either Morning Star or a moth. The moth flies [787]
at night and is considered to be the bearer of good dreams. To inspire good dreams about buf- [237]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

sidered to be a bad sign. A piece falling from a sacred object, an error made in the singing, a rattle or drumstick dropped, or a person falling down, particularly if caused by the negligence of the participant, will cause the marked person to immediately ask some old man to call out four brave deeds, in the hope that the old man's powers in times of danger will help prevent possible misfortune as a result of the accident.] 796 432 778 787 [789] [555]

Sometimes a woman is allowed to take the pipe at these dances and clumsily dances [this is a gross interpretation of the smooth dancing done by women; an ideal woman remains very dignified during social occasions and does not dance with the glamour and obvious enthusiasm shown by the men], facing a minute to each of the five points of the compass [actually, four]. There are generally some extra moves in the ceremony of unrolling the Calumet peculiar to each pipe; for instance in one case, before dancing, a squaw takes a drum stick and strikes two blows on each of the lodge poles that the entrance is between [the spiritual purpose of this to notify the sacred lodge that loud noise, in the form of drumming, is about to commence], in another case a forked stick is used to rest the head of the stuffed owl upon, this stick stuck upright between the other red willows. 796 432 778 535 [562] [923]

The following narrative is also from Wilson's notebook of the 1890s. He calls this story a "Calumet Transfer." 796 432 778

When an Indian has once said that he will take the Sacred Pipe, he must not fail to keep his promise, for he is sure to be visited with misfortune should he so trifle with the Sacred. Nowadays a man names the day that he will pay the horses and be initiated. Formerly, it was customary to leave that to the owner and priests who would take him by surprise the night before the transfer was due to take place. The pipe is unrolled with the same ceremony as in Thunder [127] [626]

[p. 129-B]

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

man, sat halfway back instead of way up front where all Medicine Pipe Owners are supposed to sit. 796 778

One more drummer was needed to start the ceremony. Our Old Man, sitting by the doorway, volunteered to fill the vacancy. The physical efforts required of drummers would strain his old body. He knew that, but he wanted to help get the ceremony started. I helped him move over to sit on the first of the cushions arranged for the drummers in an east-west line. [533]

Just before the ceremony actually began, old NinnaOnesta showed up. Once the ceremony begins, it is not proper to rearrange anything, but there was still time to have the physically stronger NinnaOnesta replace the Old Man.

The ceremony went like any other, with the incense, praying, singing, and untying of the Bundle. In the Old days, at least seven sets of seven songs would have been sung. But no one knows all seven sets anymore. Today, usually the first set of seven is sung, and then part of the second set. [533] [178]

After the Bundle was opened, we ate the sacred meal of fresh berry soup, as well as boiled meat and eggs, crackers and cookies, and oranges and apples. [262]

This pause lasted for about twenty minutes; then the ceremony continued with dancing done in time to drumming and singing. During this part, participants were given an opportunity to express their own spiritual feelings about the Bundle. Anyone who had been initiated into the Spirit of our Medicine Pipes could get up and dance with an object from the Bundle. [535]

The custom of dancing is different with this particular Bundle, the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. With other Bundles, only the men dance, while their female relatives may dance in place to accompany them. Then, women dance with the sacred objects only to fulfill vows, standing next to the leader and bouncing lightly up and down; relatives accompany them, dancing in place four 796 778 535 562

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

times, facing each of the four directions. The dancing party stands on a walkway made up of blankets, quilts, and pieces of material given to the Bundle's Owner afterwards. However, for this Bundle, both men and women dance, one encouraging the other. 796 778 535 562

Before the dancing began, Emonissi took the sacred Pipe outside the main tipi and prayed to the Powers of the Universe. He returned and laid the sacred Stem on a rack, made up of three sticks like a miniature goal post. The drummers began the introductory turn for the Medicine Pipe Dance. All the songs, or chants, were accompanied by hard-soft, hard-soft beats on the rawhide-covered hand drums. The four drums used to be among the accessories of a Bundle, but no longer. Today, drums are usually borrowed. 796 778 [782] [533] [534]

During the introductory song, Mokakin got up and prepared to be the first dancer. He went up front and took a pinch of sweet pine needles from the pouch next to the altar. Putting the needles in his mouth, he chewed them, then spit a bit of them in his right hand, which he brushed down the left side of his body. He did the same with his left hand. Then he repeated the whole ceremony. Finally, he spit some of the incense in his hands, rubbed his palms together, then rubbed the soles of his moccasins a total of four times. He was now symbolically purified and ready to handle the sacred objects from within the Bundle. 796 778 783 [824] [261]

One of the two Pipestems was very simply decorated, while the other was more fully decorated with the eagle tailfeather fan. The simple pipe looked like the secondary Pipe and the latter looked like the main Pipe, except for one feature. The secondary Pipe is usually more recently made; but here this simple pipe was very ancient compared to the one with the eagle tailfeathers. And indeed, Mokakin selected the much older, more simple Pipe, which was this Bundle's main Pipe. 796 778 276 [531] [237]

Mokakin prayed aloud, holding up the sacred 796 778 782

[p.134-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

114
291
292
302
531

James Willard Shultz, the writer, with some of his Blood friends at Waterton Lake in 1928. From left to right: Bobtail Chief; his wife; Schultz, or Apikunni; Many Makes; and Wessel Tail. In the foreground is the wife of Wessel Tail. Though it may look odd for a woman to wear a war bonnet—and this one belonged to Bobtail Chief—her adventures and coups on warpaths with her husband gave her that right.

[562]
555

When they got there the door was closed and blocked from inside. Bernard told his brother, Edward, "Darn it, that old man is smoking again and I'm cold and want to go inside." They stood around for a few minutes and then Bernard suddenly pushed hard on the door and opened it up. Natosina was sitting in a chair near the door, his pipe in hand. As they came through, the pipe fell and his head fell forward; blood trickled from the side of his mouth. His old wife told the boys to hurry and close the door and then to stand still. She began to sing the song of his sacred Power and pretty soon he lifted his head, looking somewhat dazed. While the boys looked on in amazement, Natosina coughed loudly, his hand held in front of his mouth. He took the hand and rubbed it on his forehead, which became covered with sacred yellow paint. He coughed again into his hand and wiped it on one of his cheeks; it became covered with sacred red paint. One more time he did this, covering his other cheek with red paint. Then he told the boys, "Don't walk in like that again when you know I'm smoking. I might not be able to come back next time."

STORIES OF WEASEL TAIL

A contemporary of Natosina was Apachsoysis, or "Weasel Tail." Although he knew a great deal about our sacred ceremonies, he was not a leader. His fame rested on his fearless bravery. He was also noted for being something of a historian, as well as a great comedian who specialized in tall tales.

Weasel Tail was born in 1859. When he became orphaned, he wandered and ended up living for a time among the Crow People. He was still young when he married his only wife, Hate Woman, who went with him on several of his war parties. Like his partner, Bird Rattler, Weasel Tail went back to Crow camps during some of his later horse raids. During one horse raid, he was caught with Bird Rattler and imprisoned at Fort

CONTINUED ON PAGE 267-A]
[p.265-B]

words in it: "Girl I love, don't worry about me. I'll be eating berries coming home." Some of the time, however, the girl he loved had no reason to worry about him, for she went with him on his war adventures. He explained it this way: "My wife said she loved me, and if I was to be killed on a war party she wanted to be killed too. I took her with me on five raids. Some of them I led, and my wife was not required to perform the cooking or other chores. She carried a six-shooter. On one occasion she stole a horse with a saddle, ammunition bag, and war club."

In 1929 Weasel Tail was camped by Water-

Eagle Child. He was apprehended at the end of his last horse raid by an Indian policeman named High Tree. He aimed his gun and the policeman fled. He then claimed the name High Tree and gave it to his grandson. (Glacier Studio)

In 1929 Weasel Tail was camped by Waterton Lake with a number of our Old People. They told their stories to the writer Apikunni, who published some of them in his book, *Sun God's Children*. Weasel Tail told a long story about one war raid on which his wife accompanied him. The party went first to the Crows and successfully stole a number of horses. On their way home they were surprised and attacked by a large party of Crees who took the recently captured horses and rode off with them, leaving Weasel Tail and his party again on foot. 114 721 [562]

According to the story, Weasel Tail and his group then headed north in search of a camp of friendly Gros Ventres, but they mistakenly walked into a camp of unfriendly Assiniboines. The first person they met was a Blood named Sliding Down, who offered to speak for them in the lodge of the Assiniboine chief. The People of the enemy camp surrounded the chief's lodge and threatened Weasel Tail's party. The chief was not much friendlier than the rest, and it soon became evident that they were in for trouble. They were finally provoked into an argument that resulted in the whole group standing up and aiming their rifles at the chief. Weasel Tail said that his wife carried her six-shooter and aimed it along with the rest. He said that he gave a terrible roar to show them his Power. [562]

Sliding Down, who had married into the Assiniboines and spoke their language, told them that Weasel Tail was a ferocious warrior who had killed many but had never been injured himself. The Assiniboines fled and Weasel Tail and his party promptly withdrew. They were not followed and made a safe escape. [582] [191]

Weasel Tail said that the party then split up. He and his wife and one other man went south to try again for Crow horses. On the way they encountered a lone Crow man who had lost his wife and was wandering around, mourning. Weasel Tail caught the man by surprise, but pitied him and gave him his life, with a prayer to Sun to help him if he should ever be in a similar situation. [727] [782]

[p. 269-A]

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

they have little knowledge. As women take important parts in most ritualistic ceremonies, such restrictions are not correlated with sex differences. Then, again, all elderly persons are assumed to have had considerable experience in ritualistic ceremonies; hence young people usually hesitate to narrate myths in deference to the rights of their elders.

CLARK WISSLER.

NEW YORK CITY,
July 11, 1908.

band were almost upon us when we opened fire, but at our first shots they quartered back down the ridge like the wind and in no time were gone out of range. However, they left eight of their number dead or dying in their wake.

As we put the wounded out of their misery and began plying our knives, Eagle Head remarked that the women had undoubtedly heard our shots and would soon be coming to do their share in skinning the kills. But they did not appear, and Eagle Head said: "That is the way of women. Once they get into a good berry patch they forget all else."

At last we finished the butchering and tied the skins to our saddles. Gathering the meat in one place to be packed to camp on the following day, I tied my handkerchief to a bush beside it to keep the wolves and coyotes away.

It was midafternoon when we mounted our horses and hurried off down the plain to join the women. But when we arrived at the place where we had left them they were not there. Deciding that they must have filled their pouches with berries and gone back to camp, we were about to follow when we discovered their big saddle pouches, half-filled with cherries, lying where their horses had been tied. Their small hand pouches were near by, too, evidently thrown down in haste, for cherries were scattered on the ground.

"What could have happened," Eagle Head exclaimed, "to cause them to leave their pickings so suddenly?"

We saw no signs of anything that could have frightened them, but circling about, we found the trail of their horses headed up the valley away from camp and traveling fast. That alarmed us.

It was easy to follow the horses' hoofprints in the broad, dusty game trail, which soon led us to the river and across it into a body of timber. There we found something more to confuse us, for a herd of buffalo had swept up through the bottom, obliterating the horses' tracks. Whence had come the buffalo? We had not seen them. And what had caused them to run up the valley? Evidently they had been frightened into flight after the women had gone up through the grove. We rode this way and that, searching the various trails for some explanation, Eagle Head calling loudly upon his gods for help.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

watching me handle the fragile tackle and happily shouted at the sudden leap of a big trout to seize the fly, and its furious and sometimes successful struggle to free itself.

On this evening we struck the stream a few hundred yards above camp and turned down it. And I had no luck, whipping pool after pool and getting not a single rise, though we could see many large trout in their clear depths. But at last, when it was really dusk, I hooked a big one, and after many rushes and leaps it gave up the struggle and I got it out upon the shore. It was enough, more than enough, for my breakfast, so I unjointed and cased the rod, and we went on down the shore to strike the camp water trail and so avoid tearing our way through the thick and thorny brush. Our moccasined feet were noiseless upon the sandy shore; we had rounded a sharp bend and turned into the well-worn trail when from a dense growth of willows two others came into it. In the deeper darkness of the timber they were so near that we recognized them: Handsome Man and *Otahki!* Each had an arm about the other's waist. They had, of course, made sure that there was no one at the stream; sought only to avoid anyone coming out from camp; so, great was their surprise at seeing us almost upon them. It was *Otahki* who first saw us, and with gasping "*Nayeyah!*" she broke from him and ran for camp, he plunging back into the willows whence they had come.

Bear Head and I went on, came to a stand upon reaching the open, but could not distinguish *Otahki* among the many going to and fro in the big camp; she had doubtless already gone into her lodge. We wondered how she had managed to slip out by herself to meet Handsome Man, and probably not for the first time. For only very old women and women already branded for infidelity went alone beyond the circle of the camp, even for wood or water.

Said Bear Head: "That *Otahki!* I have always suspected that, given the opportunity, she would be that kind of woman.

"What are you going to do about it, tell Talks-with-the-Buffalo what we have seen?"

"No. We men are not tale bearers—gossips. She will soon be discovered in her badness and be made to suffer the punishment that she deserves."

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 837 [684] [782] hurried to their daughter and urged her to return to them; they were not going to allow her to be disfigured because of *Otahki's* lies. And that one they denounced with all the epithets of the Blackfoot language. But Otter Woman would not listen to their pleadings. She had done no wrong; she had prayed the Above Ones for help; they were with her, they would not allow her to suffer for something that she had not done. To leave her man's lodge now would be to admit that she was guilty.

It was near midnight when Eagle Plume and his woman went back to their lodge, without their daughter. And when, a little later, we took to our couches, Talks-with-the-Buffalo had not returned.

But he came back sometime in the night, so Bear Head's elder wife said when she had built our morning fire and awakened us. And she had it from *Paiota* that he had not overtaken Handsome Man.

As Bear Head and I were returning from our early plunge in the creek, he said to me: "In Talks-with-the-Buffalo's lodge, this morning, there will be a big talk about Otter Woman. If he fails to invite [574] us, we must anyhow attend it."

"Will you tell the gathering what we saw out here, two nights back?" I asked.

"I don't know. I don't know what I shall do about it." And then, when we were almost to the doorway of our lodge, he brought me [562] to a stand and added: "The strength of our tribe is in our women. The good ones should be praised, favored in every way; the bad ones should be punished."

[574] [623] It was about ten o'clock when Talks-with-the-Buffalo stood before his lodge and shouted invitations to this and that prominent man of the camp to come to his lodge for a talk. Bear Head and I were not named. We saw the great ones go in one by one: White Calf, the head chief; Running Crane; Three Suns; Fast Buffalo Horse; Little Dog; and other clan chiefs and medicine men to the number of twelve. Then we slipped in after them and seated ourselves just to the right of the doorway. Came in then still another uninvited one, Otter Woman's father, Eagle Plume, and sat down on my right. His face was grim. And last of all came Badger Woman and her man and sat just within the doorway.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

A Bride for Morning Star
(Told by Charles Rivois)

ONE OF MY DEAR FRIENDS of the long-ago buffalo days was Charles Rivois, affectionately named by the Blackfoot "*Utsena Pwoyit*" ("Gros Ventre Talker").[1] Born in St. Louis in 1803, he spent most of his long life on the northwestern plains, and died at the age of ninety-six on the Blackfoot Indian Reservation. He was a fascinating storyteller, and here is one of his best:

"Men for the war trail, women for the home lodge." An old, old saying of the Blackfoot Indian tribes, and true, as I well know. Because of a woman member of a war party that I once joined, we all got into plenty of trouble, as you shall learn.

I had been wandering, hunting, trapping with the Pikunis for four years when, in the spring of 1856, we moved in to Fort Benton to trade our winter gatherings of furs and buffalo robes for white men's goods. Soon after we arrived there *Pinukwiim* ("Far-Off-in-Sight"), with whom I was living, decided to organize a war party to raid the horse herds of the far-south tribes, and asked me to join it. I would likely have refused had it not been for a fine and forceful Tewa Indian, a great wanderer, named Far Pine, who had been with us for two years. He had told me much about the southern tribes, and I was eager to see them, see their ancient pueblos, learn something of their ways of life; so, as he was going, I would, too. The camp crier spread word of the war party; and came in to us, among others, Red Wolf,

[1] See "Charles Rivois' Tale of Hardship," in *Friends of My Life as an Indian*, 134–47, where his Blackfoot name is given as *Utsenakwan* ("Gros Ventre Man").

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

BLACKFOOT INDIAN PIPES AND PIPEMAKING

By John C. Ewers

INTRODUCTION

The smoking of tobacco pipes played roles of importance in the religious, political, and social life of the historic Blackfoot Indians. Pipe smoking was an integral part of the involved ritual of opening sacred ceremonial bundles. It was an invariable part of the act of making peace with enemy tribes. In the early years of the fur trade Blackfoot chiefs smoked with white traders when they visited their posts before the exchange of goods began. An Indian whose word was doubted might solemnly swear by the pipe that his testimony was true. It was a common custom for a man seeking a favor of another Indian of his tribe to present him with a pipe at the time of making his request. If the pipe was accepted, he knew that his request would be acted upon favorably; if it was refused, he knew that it was denied.

Blackfoot etiquette called for the tipi owner to offer a pipe to male visitors to his lodge. However, my older informants of the 1940's stated that in their youth there were marked individual differences in the interest men took in smoking for pleasure. Some men rarely smoked except during their participation in ceremonies. Others spent a great deal of their leisure time puffing on their pipes. Most boys started to smoke when they reached their middle teens and began to join war parties. No ceremony was involved in a boy's taking his first smoke. He merely followed the actions he had so often seen his elders perform.

Strong arguments were used to discourage young men from smoking too much, as are indicated by the following Blackfoot sayings:

> A young man who smokes too much has no wind.
> If you smoke too much it will hurt your eyes.
> The man who likes to smoke too much is the man who will draw the enemy when he is on a war party. The enemy will smell the smoke and be attracted to his location. Wild game will smell the smoke and will avoid the place where he is.

Girls did not smoke. But young married women learned to smoke when they attended ceremonies with their husbands. Older women usually were the only ones of their sex who smoked for pleasure.

[P. 33]

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

usually were the only ones of their sex who smoked for pleasure.

All men and many older women owned pipes. The making of tobacco pipes generally was regarded as a man's craft, although there were a few women among the Blackfoot who were pipemakers. Even in buffalo days pipemaking was a specialized craft. The number of pipemakers in each of the three Blackfoot tribes was small. They supplied their own needs for pipes and made them for gifts to, or barter with, their fellow tribesmen and women. It was not uncommon for a pipemaker, in the youth of my informants, to receive a horse, several buffalo robes, or other articles of equivalent value in exchange for a well-made tobacco pipe bowl and stem. Some pipemakers fashioned pipes to order for their Indian customers.

In recent years cigarette smoking has largely replaced pipe smoking among the great majority of Blackfoot men and women. Nevertheless, some of the older people of a high degree of Indian blood still smoke stone pipes for pleasure. And, of course, the pipe remains the traditional smoking equipment in Blackfoot ceremonies.

Although the demand for pipes has decreased materially within the present century, there were still more than a dozen pipemakers living on the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana and the Blood Reserve in Alberta in the decade of the 1940's, several of whom still made pipes as gifts to other Indians or to Whites. Very few pipes were made for sale.

Time has dealt rather harshly with the traditional men's handicrafts of the Blackfoot. In the 1940's there probably were as many pipemakers among the Blackfoot as there were makers of feather bonnets, drums, or other men's handicrafts. However, all the known pipemakers were elderly or middle-aged Indians, and unless some of the younger people take an active interest in pipemaking, this age-old craft will disappear from the Blackfoot Indians.

PIPE BOWL TYPES

THE STRAIGHT PIPE

When Clark Wissler investigated Blackfoot material culture in the field during the first decade of the present century, he found that "some old people stated that according to tradition, stone pipe bowls were not made before the introduction of iron tools. Blocks of hard tough clay were cut into the form of a pipe bowl, rubbed with grease, and hardened over the fire and by use." Wissler was dubious of this explanation. "This is an agreement with the traditions concerning pottery but seems unlikely" (Wissler, 1910, p. 83).

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

(also known as Big Nose), prominent leader of the Grease Melters Band of the Piegan, who died in 1896.[1] This bowl measures 3¾ inches in height. It is in the collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian, Browning, Mont.

The pipe bowl shown in plate 21, *c*, was made by my Piegan informant and interpreter, Reuben Black Boy, not long before he presented it to me in 1947. The bowl is of smoke-blackened gray stone from the Running Crane site on the Blackfeet Reservation. It measures 4 inches in height and 3 inches in length. This specimen illustrates the survival of the Modified Micmac type of pipe bowl among Blackfoot pipemakers for more than 110 years after this general form first was illustrated by Carl Bodmer in 1833. This type of bowl was known to my older informants by the namo "real pipe." The term covered both the bowl pictured by Bodmer and the one made by Reuben Black Boy more than a century later.

THE DOUBLE PIPE

Some of my older informants spoke of a modification of the Modified Micmac pipe, which was made in the days of intertribal warfare, as the "double pipe." It consisted of two bowls, one behind the other, on a single base. It was made for a warrior who had met the enemy riding double on a single horse and had killed both of the riders. He alone was permitted to smoke it. Because counting coup under these unusual conditions was a rare accomplishment, few of these pipes were made by the Blackfoot. The only specimen I have seen is cat. No. I-29 in the collections of the Historical Society of Montana in Helena. This bowl, from the Ronan Collection, measures 2½ inches in greatest height and 3½ inches in greatest length. It is reproduced here as plate 22, *a*.[2]

A double pipe in the style of a Siouan calumet was illustrated by George Catlin in 1841 (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pl. 64). This indicates that the double pipe was known to the Sioux in the 1830's. Whether it had the same symbolic significance as did the Blackfoot double pipe was not mentioned.

WOMEN'S PIPES

When Maximilian visited the tipi of the old Blackfoot chief Kutonapi near Fort McKenzie in the summer in 1833, he observed that "the old women smoked with us, but remained before the door of the tent" (Wied-Neuwied, 1843, p. 266). He neither described nor pictured the pipes smoked by these women. However, my elderly informants stated that in their youth older women commonly smoked small pipes with short, undecorated stems. I noticed that a number of

A,B,/For plate 21,b, and plate 22,a, see Category 276, pp. 60-B & 60-C respectively --Analyst /

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

the older fullblood women still smoked pipes in the 1940's. The bowls were either small ones of the Modified Micmac type, or they were elbow pipes.

Wissler (1910, fig. 49, p. 83) illustrated a woman's pipe with its stem. The bowl is of the Modified Micmac type. A woman's pipe bowl of smoke-blackened, gray stone, collected by William Wildschut at Browning, Montana, in 1921, is portrayed in plate 22, *b*. This is cat. No. 12/563 in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. It measures 2½ inches high and 1¾ inches long at the base.

A photograph of a Piegan woman, Maggie Bull Plume, taken in the early 1920's, showing this Indian smoking an elbow pipe while carrying a baby on her back, appears as plate 23, *a*. In 1947 I took the photograph of Mrs. Cree Medicine, an elderly Piegan, smoking an elbow pipe she had made herself, which appears in plate 23, *b*.

THE SIOUAN CALUMET

The earliest published illustration of a Blackfoot Indian holding a pipe is Catlin's portrait of Buffalo-Back-Fat, Head Chief of the Blood Indians, whom the artist met at Fort Union in the summer of 1832. Catlin described this Indian's pipe bowl as

> ingeniously carved by himself from a piece of red steatite of an interesting character, and which they tell me is procured somewhere between this place and the Falls of St. Anthony, on the headwaters of the Mississippi. (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, p. 31, and pl. 7.)

Catlin doubtless referred to the famous quarry near present Pipestone, Minnesota, which he himself visited in 1836, and the stone from which was later named "catlinite" in his honor.

The bowl shown in this picture is a typical Siouan calumet, and, despite Catlin's statement to the contrary, it is doubtful if Buffalo-Back-Fat made it. In the summer of 1833, Prince Maximilian observed during his visit among the Blackfoot that the pipe bowls they "made themselves are not nearly so handsome as those of the Sioux, which they highly prize, and readily obtain by barter" (Wied-Neuwied, 1843, p. 251). My older informants of the 1940's knew of no Blackfoot pipemakers who had made bowls of catlinite. They confirmed Maximilian's statement to the effect that Siouan calumets were smoked by the Blackfoot, but said that they were obtained readymade from the Assiniboine or Sioux farther down the Missouri. Furthermore, they said that these Siouan calumets were used for pleasure smoking but were never smoked in the religious ceremonies of the Blackfoot.

A,B,C,/For plate 22,b, and plate 23,a & b, see Category 276, pp.60-C and 60-D respectively--Analyst/

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

pecially proud of the fact he had once carved a bowl in the form of a bird's head which he had traded to a fellow Piegan, Brockey, for a steer. Green-Grass-Bull understood that Brockey later gave this bowl to George Bird Grinnell, a well-known student of Blackfoot Indian culture at the turn of the century. [276] [532]

RUNNING CRANE AND HIS CHILDREN, PIEGANS

The most prominent Piegan pipemaker of the last quarter of the 19th century was Running Crane, Chief of the Lone Eater's Band, who died July 14, 1902, aged about 76 years. A pipe bowl owned by him in 1891 is pictured in plate 21, *a*. Running Crane was said to have sold his pipes for as much as $20 each and to have traded a pipe for "a good horse." [435]

Running Crane's daughter, Deathly-Woman-Cree-Medicine (born ca. 1868), was the only woman living on the Blackfeet Reservation in the decade of the 1940's who had made pipes. She told me that she had learned the craft by watching her father and her mother, Crane-Old-Woman (who also was a pipemaker), at work. She followed their example in using stone from the Running Crane quarry site for her pipe bowls. She followed her father's example in employing a sharpened piece of hoop-iron to drill the bowl and stem holes, in shaping the exterior of the bowl with a file and removing the file marks with sandrock. Mrs. Cree Medicine preferred a sage fire for blackening the surface of a pipe bowl. She also greased the bowl before placing it over the smoke of the fire. She knew that other pipemakers used a buckbrush fire for blackening pipe bowls, but she thought buckbrush made too hot a fire and might crack the stone. [115] [562] [868] [824]

Plate 23, *b*, is a field photograph of Mrs. Cree Medicine smoking a small elbow pipe of her own making. She told me that she had also fashioned pipe bowls of the Modified Micmac form, and had carved an effigy pipe in the form of a man's head. [171] [532]

Wades-in-the-Water (born ca. 1871), a son of Running Crane, and himself for many years Chief of the Indian Police of the Blackfeet Reservation, told me that he also had made pipe bowls from stone quarried at the Running Crane site. He also preferred a sage fire for blackening pipe bowls. After the smoke-blackened bowl cooled, he polished the surface with a piece of buckskin or cloth. [115] [824]

MIKE DAY RIDER, PIEGAN

A fourth member of the oldest generation living on the Blackfeet Reservation in the 1940's who had made pipe bowls was Mike Day Rider (born ca. 1868). Mike told me that he blackened his pipe bowls [115]

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

276
562
854
302
142
291

276
562
291
301

a, Maggie Bull Plume, Piegan, smoking an elbow pipe, ca. 1920. (Courtesy Museum of the Plains Indian.) *b*, Deathly-Woman-Cree-Medicine, Piegan, smoking an elbow pipe she made herself, 1947.

[p. 60-D]

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

same dream spirit that appeared to Northern Chief appeared also to him. This spirit told Little Dog that he would capture seven guns, and at some time would become head chief of his tribe. This actually occurred, Little Dog being one of the signers, in behalf of the Piegan, of the treaty between the Blackfeet and the United States on the upper Missouri, near the mouth of Judith river, in 1855.

The first owner was authorized to make two pipes, but no more ever existed among the Blackfeet. The only remaining one, above referred to, is now owned by a daughter of Mountain Chief; but as no woman is allowed to handle the bundle, her father is the actual custodian.

As stated, the Catchers Society pipe bundle is an entirely different palladium and is much more elaborate than the Black Wrapped pipe. As only two specimens of this bundle ever existed among the Blackfeet, the writer was fortunate in obtaining one. The following information regarding this bundle was given by Split Ears (its last Blackfoot owner, from whom it was obtained) and from Mountain Chief. The pipe had its origin so long ago that the name of the first owner has been lost.

When the first owner of the Catchers Society pipe bundle dreamed about it, the Blackfeet camp

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

142 The women are not above the ordinary height, have an intelligent appearance, are seldom, if ever handsome and rarely even good-looking. When young they have a fresh, pleasant expression, but it rapidly disappears under the burdens that custom imposes on their sex, and in old age they are haggard and ugly.

CHASTITY

684 Chastity of the women is held in great esteem among the 562 Blackfeet, but is practiced by scarcely more than one-[831] third of their number. The unfaithful wife was formerly punished with great severity. The injured husband or any chosen friend might cut off her nose, her ears, or even take [175] her life. Cut noses were very common among the women [178] in 1833, when for the first time the whites made the close acquaintance of the nation. Since then the custom has gradually died out and seems now to be wholly discontinued. But severe as was this penalty a still greater might be inflicted upon the woman thus disgraced. Even without the sanction of her husband she might be forcibly removed from the village by the young men who then upheld the honor of her sex by making her an object of common gratification. After such an ordeal, if permitted to live, 672 she was regarded with universal scorn. Frequently, how-684 ever, the unfaithful wife was forgiven by her husband, 562 who sought his redress from her partner in crime. It was his privilege to dispossess him of horses, arms, and in short, everything he may own, and for property thus taken there was no reclamation. Should the paramour be unmarried and without an establishment of his own then redress may be sought from his father.

[431] There was no other recognized punishment for the male criminal, but, as occurred sometimes in civilized society, he was occasionally slain by the injured husband, who then made peace with the relatives of the victim by the [628] customary gifts. When all the parties belonged to the [621] same band, the matter was usually arranged without much difficulty, but when two different bands it became almost a national dispute and scenes of bloody violence were an occasional outcome.

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 583 585 secures the services of a friend, who goes to the father of his intended, states his desire and enumerates the gifts to be made to him in the event of his consent. If the father gives favorable ear to his suit, he simply sends the girl to the young warrior's lodge, who there receives her and the marriage ceremony is over. It is usual for the parents of the girl to send with her as presents to her husband such articles as their means allow, and these often exceed in value the gifts that have been received from him. Two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute [562] the customary offering in cases of intended marriage. The wishes of the girl are not consulted pending the matrimonial negotiations, but she rarely, if ever, objects.

582 607 [562] Such is the custom to which she has grown up and she is a passive instrument in her father's hands. It is to be remarked, however, that should she have a brother-in-law of mature years, it is even more important to conciliate him. To him revert all the proffered gifts and his opposition to the marriage would generally prevent its occurrence. Where there are several brothers-in-law it is the eldest only who enjoys this consideration.

POLYGAMY

595 Polygamy is extensively practiced among the Blackfeet and the number of wives a man may have is only limited by his ability to procure and support them. If the eldest daughter of a family is first married, it is tacitly understood that her younger sisters are bound to her husband likewise, and as fast as they arrive at the proper age they are sent to him without ceremony.

FATHERS-IN-LAW AND MOTHERS-IN-LAW

602 From the moment of marriage all direct intercourse between a husband and his wife's relatives or a wife and her husband's relatives was at an end. The husband addressed his wife's family only through her, and she observed the same rule with regard to his. Relatives by marriage sought to avoid meeting each other and would turn out of their paths for that purpose, but when an encounter was unavoidable they would hang down the head or muffle the

36: Dempsey H-4,5 (1952) 1956 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

533 All singers face the centre of the circle and beat a single large drum with cloth-covered
535 sticks.

Although there are numerous Owl Dance songs, none has words. They consist only of a melodious chanting. It is not uncommon for the singers to preside at dances from eight o'clock in the evening until eight o'clock next morning without repeating a single song. Many of these tunes are born in the fertile imagination of modern singers, so that each year there is a popular "hit parade" of new songs.

As no names are given individual songs, each one is identified by singing the first few bars. Usually one of the singers will say, "Here, let's sing this one," and begin the song. His companions will wait until he has completed the first portion and then join
[562] in. On some occasions women will stand beside the bench and add their high-pitched nasal style of singing, but they are never allowed to sit with the men or remain at the bench during the Chicken Dance.

535 In addition to the normal clockwise movement of the dancers, there are many minor steps; and new routines are continually being added. The most popular variations are the "turnabout" and "turning on the spot" features. While the dance is in progress, the announcer may shout, "Turn around and dance in the opposite direction." At this cry there is general confusion for a moment as everyone turns round and dances in a counter-clockwise direction.

In the other variation the announcer may call, "Turn each other around." This consists of a slow turnabout movement, with the partners retaining their "schottische" hold. They then wait a moment to hear if he shouts, "Now do it again." This latter feature causes a great deal of amusement among the dancers, as there is often still some confusion after the first call.

Throughout the dance, the announcer is continually moving among the crowd, urging everyone to join in. The literal translation of a popular call is: "Don't waste all
[626] this good music. Get up and dance." A few decades ago, it was customary for the announcer to carry a small whip with him to strike the legs of persons who would not get up to dance. However, this has not been necessary within the past few years, as the floor is usually filled to capacity with willing dancers.

178 In the dance itself, there are a few restrictions which have been carried over into
535 modern social dancing from earlier customs, though many of them have suffered revision in the compromise with modern society.

[576] Among the Bloods, it is the woman who asks the man to dance, and it is con-
[562] sidered highly insulting for a man to refuse without good reason. In the old days a woman could publicly denounce a man for this action and strike him across the back as an obvious sign of distaste.

When the dance has ended, the male dancer is not required to show his partner to her seat, but returns to his own place, leaving the woman to her own resources.

593 Most interesting is the custom prohibiting a man and his wife from dancing to-
602 gether. A few years ago this custom also forbade dancing with blood relatives such as brothers, sisters, parents, aunts, uncles, nieces, or nephews, but it is in force today only
578 against married couples. Needless to say, this custom has given rise to numerous jealous arguments in which a wife complains about her husband's being chosen by one particular woman, or the husband protests his wife's choice of partners.

It is therefore probably a wise ruling that considers it in bad taste for dancing partners to carry on a conversation.

122 *11:00:* Jimmy just came in with an armful of wood and said, "Goddam! It's a cold outside! Guess I got wear cap today." He asked me whether I had seen his hat, but he said it in Blackfoot and I didn't understand him at first because instead of using the word for hat (*ist-tsím-o-kahn*) with which I am familiar, he used "*o-toh-kahn-o-kós-toh-mok*," which refers specifically to a cap or hat which has a round shape. He was right about it's being "a cold outside," though; I know because a short while ago I borrowed the Chief's overshoes and went down for two buckets of water. The butane tank is empty, but there is a wood fire going in the kitchen and it is nice and warm in there and as soon as my water heats I am going to take a bath. The wind is really strong outside, blowing the snow almost horizontally.

Night: Well, I'm clean! While the Chief dictated a letter to Jim (for me to type up), I took a bucket bath—what my old Texas friend, Cap Fowler, calls a "possible" bath. Cap described the procedure as follows: "First you wash down as far as possible; then you wash up as far as possible; and then you wash possible."

After lunch the Chief wanted to go to town, but when he stepped out onto the porch and felt the power of that wind he changed his mind. So instead he seated himself in a chair and sang some of his [533] old war songs, accompanying himself by pounding on the floor with [538] his cane, and the war songs put him in a story-telling mood so I [126] turned on the recorder and the Chief expounded in detail the preparations which the Blackfoots made for going to war. He began 809 by remarking that the White Man has done a magnificent job of misinterpreting and misrepresenting the Plains Indian culture. As Jimmy interjected, "Always make Indians look like bunch damn [546] fools." This phase of discussion arose from the fact that the film, [522] *Chief Crazy Horse*, is coming to the local flick. Indian films, and [301] other comedies, are quite popular on the Reservation, and the older Blackfoot ladies are especially titillated by the fact that the movies always portray an Indian maiden wearing a beaded headband with a feather sticking in it. The beaded headband is itself both con- 562 temporary and ersatz, and it was at one time considered indecent 301 of an Indian woman to adorn herself with feathers. The Sun Dance 237 Holy Woman wore a small plume tied at one side of her head, and Blackfoot women frequently did (and still do) wear their husband's or boy friend's hats while the menfolk are dancing, but certainly no Plains Indian woman in the old days went around with an eagle feather sticking up behind her head.

721 Considering the relative lateness of his appearance upon the

Part of my afternoon was passed in just thumbing through old magazines and mail-order catalogues, and although this type of reading is not to be recommended as a steady diet, it certainly is revelatory of a basic difference between the personality structures of Whites and Indians. A great deal of modern advertising is obviously directed by the knowledge that the White person, whether male or female, has become so confused by the rapidly changing roles of both men and women within the framework of our society that he is no longer quite certain of his own identity and will consequently grab at almost anything that promises to reestablish him in the eyes of his peers as belonging to the proper gender. The Indian, on the other hand, although he has in large measure been deprived of his cultural identity, still possesses in very strong degree that sense of sexual identity for which so many Whites are groping; such phrases as "A real MAN's smoke," and "Banking with a feminine touch," mean absolutely nothing to an Indian, and Indians in general are very poor targets for advertising of this sort.

Regarding Indian women (and I do my share of regarding), I believe that the Blackfoot woman of today is definitely a happier person than her White sister, and I feel sure that this same contrast existed in the old days. The Blackfoot wife was never the slave or chattel that she has been pictured as being. True, Blackfoot marriages usually were arranged affairs, but the arrangement had the same social and economic basis that most modern White marriages have, and a Blackfoot girl could refuse to accept her family's choice of husband if she wished. And a Blackfoot girl was not bought or purchased by her husband; gifts were exchanged between the suitor and the bride's family, and the more expensive the gifts the suitor could provide, the better were his chances for receiving the blessings of his future in-laws, but the final choice was up to the girl.

Certainly the Blackfoot woman was expected to do her share of work, and the classier were her domestic attainments the more desirable was she as a bride; but the teepee and its furnishings were the property of the wife, not the husband, and for good cause a Blackfoot woman could tell her husband to get out of the teepee and stay out. Even the meat that the husband provided, after the wife had turned it into dry meat or pemmican, belonged to the wife. But the Blackfoot society was structured around the family unit, and if a Blackfoot woman started to get uppity with her spouse, she darn well better have some relatives she could depend on for support.

White women generally shudder at the thought of polygamous marriage, but the Blackfoot ladies rather enjoyed the idea. There was considerable labor involved in tanning hides, building a new

And at the Beaver Dance Ceremony the pounding of drums was accompanied by the sound of rattles. There were four rattles, played at various times by different men—sometimes the Chief had one in his hand. But the rattles were not shaken in the air; they were pounded on the animal hides that covered the floor, so there was the double sound of the rattle striking the hide and the pebbles chattering inside the rawhide rattle. And then, too, there was the piping of the eagle-bone whistles. (The striking of the rattle upon the hide is a symbolic representation of the beaver's striking the water with his flat tail as a signal of danger; the blowing of the bone whistle represents the beaver's whistle-like warning sound.) The Chief had his whistle hung about his neck on a buckskin thong, and Plenty Treaty and Fish Wolfrobe had similar whistles. At special times, the whistles would inject a series of shrill peeps into the music, and the over-all effect of the drums, the rattles, the whistles, and the chanting was spellbinding—truly fascinating. 796 533 534

There is a theory, rather widely held in music circles, that American jazz derives not from African Negro music but from the music of the American Indian. I would be inclined to go along with this theory. Indians are the most musical people I have ever met. And although my opinion admittedly is unqualified, it is not prejudiced. I think that Keely Smith is the greatest female singer of popular songs, and I held this opinion even before I found out that she is an American Indian. And I did hear jazz—really good jazz—in the music of the Beaver Ceremony. 121 533

When everyone had taken his place, and the hides had been spread on the floor and the Beaver Bundle had been placed before the Chief, the ceremony began with the burning of sweetgrass on some earth which had been poured onto a hide and then flattened and swirled with the fingers into a pattern which, I feel sure, was symbolic. The sweetgrass was shredded by the Chief over a hot coal which had been carried in by Mary Ground with a pair of wooden tongs and placed on the earth on the hide. The long series of rituals which followed are, like the rituals of the Pipe Dance, defiant of description, but I think it interesting that women play such important roles in Blackfoot religious ceremonies. Interesting too is the fact that, with the exception of the carrying in of the coal, female functions are always carried out by groups of women, whereas the men usually dance singly. 796 796 562

I had somehow gotten the idea that I was to be number one debutramp at this here cotillion, but not so. I was just one more Blackfoot, and actually I preferred it that way. I was allowed to par- 123 796

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

instrumental values associated with each choice, positive and negative, were tabulated. And, the over-all frequency of goals and value statements was also tabulated. These measures indicate which among the twenty-four I.A.I. illustrations the young Bloods most frequently favor and most frequently reject, among these frequently acceptable or rejected activities the reasons behind these choices, and, among this population of young Indians, what reasons were most frequently in their minds when making these choices. These topics will be dealt with in the following sections of this chapter and in Chapters III, IV, and V.

The Sample

The sample includes forty young men ranging in age from fourteen years nine months to twenty-five years six months, and it is believed to represent accurately the Reserve population of this age and sex category.

It was decided to interview males for two reasons. In earlier field experiences and in the literature it was noted that the Blood Indian community tended toward a male orientation.[6] The primary roles, the most visible roles, the most honored and aspired to roles, were occupied both aboriginally and in the early Reserve period by males. As the study is in part directed toward the acculturation process, and as the interviewing was directed toward ascer-

571 contact beyond the immediate Reserve community, he runs
648 afoul of the ambivalent relations between the Blood and white communities. Both communities hold mixed feelings about one another and attempt to discourage external relations. Male-female relations are tenuous. From the
562 593 strained relations between brother and sister to the aggressive acts between sweethearts and spouses this pattern emerges. It is a common pattern. Independent young men and women cannot easily change attitudes learned in the rough and tumble of parental marital crises and intercultural hostility.

Athletics

526 This competitive independence would have been more
[155] apparent if it were possible to include the various athletic
[555] activities engaged in by the young men. For the young Blood, these activities lead to personal achievement, and, therefore, they select activities that they do well. What the young man does well has to do with his general back-
[541] ground and the opportunities it provides. Several of the young men of the sample, brought up in a ranching or stock rearing environment, specialized in rodeo events such as calf roping and bronc riding. Others, only marginally connected with this life also chose to compete in bronc riding.
524 Many homes that are devoid of livestock sport a "bucking

461 on the basis of lack of knowledge (14 statements). Like Store Keeper, it was also felt to be boring and confining (8 statements). Furthermore, it was detrimental to one's own personal esteem (7 statements), and informants felt that they lacked sufficient experience to occupy the role (7 statements). Among the four Blood who said they liked Cook-Baker the most frequent positive statement was in regard to withholding total rejection. The young Blood mentioned three times that they would like to learn about the occupation.

In many regards Cook-Baker is similar to Store Keeper. The young Blood see these activities as unrewarding and boring, and they maintain that they know little about them. These attitudes, when contrasted with the positively valued occupations and their concomitants indicate a basic split in Blood thinking. For this reason, then, it would be well to halt our progress through the rejected I.A.'s and examine these attributes. Some paired responses may illustrate the differences and similarities in the two tasks.

(St. K.) It just don't interest me. I'd rather be out in the open; rather than be tied down with a job that's indoors.

● [562] (Cook) I feel that's more woman's work.

or

(St. K.) No. (Question--Why?) I got a quick temper. If I can't figure things out, I might destroy a lot of things.

461 (Cook) No. I never could make no flour into a dough. (Question--Like that kind of job?) No. It's kinda embarrassing to me.

or, a more knowledgeable account:

(St. K.) I'll never make enough money to own a store. I don't think I'd like keeping track of the account. It's kinda hard--I might go bankrupt.

[562] (Cook) I don't think I'd like that either. Sorta like a girl, cooking, washin' dishes, inside, tryin' to think of what kind of meal everyone would like.

and, finally,

(St. K.) Work in a store? You see food all day. You're selling it, buying it and selling it. At the end of the day you've got no appetite.

(Cook) Too hot a job. Stayin' inside all the time, under [over?] a hot stove and all that.

These illustrations bring out two points. First, being outdoors is basically desirable, as is being associated with livestock. "I'd rather be out in the open," is the key-note here. Justification for this desire centers on masculine temperament, avoidance of women's work, work associated with food, and personal embarrassment or unhealthy [562] circumstances. To the young Blood being associated for long periods of time with food is debilitating, frustrating, unmanly. The second point is related to this one, that being inside is detrimental to one's status, probably because of its association with women's work. In the light of the

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

461 It has, however, not yet been possible to isolate the basis for this preference. Possibilities, derived from the comparison between the frequently acceptable and rejected, that relate to the stockman type of activity are the informal instructured nature of the occupations, freedom from boredom and inactivity, being out of doors, healthiness or appearing so, and avoiding drawn out or repetitive tasks. [562] It is thought significant that the image portrayed by the attributes of the stockman kind of activity is masculine in contrast to the feminine image associated with the negatively valued activities.

181 Acceptance and favoritism are also related to the young Blood's attitude toward practicality. Practicality consists of three interrelated variables. 1) Practical prerequisites such as knowledge, experience, and opportunity which condition the possibilities for success. 2) Practical utility within the Blood milieu and a desire for practical mastery over things or persons. 3) Practical assessment of prerequisites, utility, and rewards for pragmatic success. [461] Thus, the young Blood do not select an activity on the basis of what they will be if they undertake it, but, rather, they select an activity for what they must do to derive the personal gratification they desire from participation. Personal gratification in this regard is wholly or partly in

86 training which was characterized by the modal life history.
[159] The young Blood of the past were also subject to such influences, influences preparing them for the specific problems of their environment and in the provincial terms of the early high prairie.

[855] [175] The natives of all these countries are fond of their children, they have faults like other children but are not corrected by being beat. Contempt and ridicule are the correctives employed, and they shame them, without breaking their spirit. And as they are all brought up in the open camp, the other children help in the punishment.[19]

Clearly, this is one way to build into the growing individual [178] a lively sense of shame. As indicated in the modal life history and in the discussion of the rejected I.A.'s, this sense of shame still exists. Correction by shaming and contempt can easily result in the avoidance of situations that [462] might be interpreted as status threatening. Therefore, the [562] young Blood-Blackfoot of the 1800's would avoid womanly work just as the young Blood of today shies away from indoor and other employment which would restrict his movement. One effect of this sense of shame is the following:

181 175 . . . but the Indian is very different . . . hence his whole life is in the enjoyment of his passions, desires, and affections concentrated within a small circle, and in which it is often intense.[20]

[578] In this quotation can be seen the genesis of the contemporary Blood avoidance of aggression and unfriendliness and his readiness for immediate reward. The quotation also indicates that

A. [See Category 128, pp. 56-57; Category 159, pp. 57-59--Analyst]

175 555 Despite further protestations on the part of Schultz, he did not go. Faced with the emotional explication of the complex relationship between manliness, horse raiding, ethnic identity and shame, he could not overcome his wife's logic. This lengthy statement is remarkably revealing for [562] our topic. Masculinity is one of the facets of economic well-being, yet one does not courageously steal horses if one does not need them or the attendant prestige (note that Schultz had everything he wanted). Recognition for such acts is given only among Indians, Schultz' people had never gone skulking about the prairie, thus he could not achieve 626 useful notoriety from such action. "You have no shame," 175 "you should be ashamed," accuses Apikuni's wife, indicating that the strongest control of excess or foolishness among the Indians is a man's consciousness of shame or pride.[2] One cannot have masculine pride and self esteem and behave shamefully.

461 178 To return momentarily to the I.A.I. data, it is apparent that the function of shame is today similar to what it was in the early and late 1800's. It would be shameful to be a brawling boxer, it would be shameful to be a hostile liquor vendor, it would be shameful to be indoors selling food to poor Indians, and, could one be proud of inept fancy 175 dancing? Apikuni, in this instance, has pointed to the 181 A. ["Apikuni" is the Blackfoot name for James Willard Schultz--Analyst]

626
595
175
273

would steal their little stores of fine pemican, fancy bead-work, their needles and their awls, and give them to other women. He was up to his pranks one morning as I happed along, and the women determined to catch him and bind him until he became sober. But he would not be caught; they chased him through the camp, out toward the hills, by the river, back to the camp, when, by means of a travois leaning against it, he climbed to the top of his lodge, seated himself in the V-shaped crotch of the lodge poles, and jibed the women for their poor running qualities, enumerated the articles he had stolen from them, and so on. He was exceedingly hilarious. The wives held a whispered consultation, one of them went inside. Their tormentor ceased jibing and began a drinking song:

"Bear Chief, he gave me a drink,
Bear Chief, he gave me a . . ."

That was as far as he got. The wife had thrown a huge armful of rye grass from her couch upon the smouldering fire, it blazed up with a sudden roar and burst of flame which reached the tenderest part of his anatomy: he gave a loud yell of surprise and pain and leaped from his perch. When he struck the ground the women were upon him and I know not how many lariats they coiled around him before they bore him inside, amid the jeers and jests of a throng of laughing spectators, and laid him upon his couch.47

Schultz' narration portrays a male-female interaction amid jibes, jests, and jeers. It also mentions activeness and physical agility, so important to the Blackfoot-speaking people. Further, it is an example of the results of looking foolish, and foolishness brought on by drinking.

626

Relating this episode to the contemporary data delineates further parallel: the male is brought <u>inside</u> to

● [562]

sober up and to halt his foolishness. Parenthetically, it might be remarked here that this story identifies shame with male-female role contrasts, with changing role relation

55: Fisher E-5 (1962-1963) 1983 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

626 (this is also true in the previous anecdote) and with the
562 dependence of one sex upon the other for conformity to non-shame provoking role behavior.

554 This concern for role conformity is an aspect of
562 the Peigan (and Blood) institution, the "manly-hearted woman."[48] This is a special and recognizable role for women which allows some of them to take on some of the role behaviors of men, behaviors such as social and sexual aggressiveness, economic assertiveness, outspokenness, and exhibitionism. These are some of the key behaviors of men who might aspire to Blood success, and, not surprisingly, the number of women who could aspire to this role were few. Shame was a strong barrier to achieving "manly-heartedness" because not a few of the expected behaviors were characteristic of women of easy virtue and poor disposition. The woman aspiring to "manly-heartedness" risked rebuke and shame for her personal aggressiveness and her active sexuality, she risked loss of status for her economic role and her outspokenness, and, finally but far from least, she ran into direct conflict with men attempting to act toward her as they should act toward any woman. Thus it can be seen that the institution "manly-hearted woman" evoked social strains on both the
[626] female role player and her male kinsmen and friends. It is another instance of shame being the primary device of social control.

626 This is important evidence for the distinction between what Indian communities expected from Indians and what they expected from others. It also indicates the reverse aspect of the "hautiness of character" delineated by Thompson, and identifies the reason that the early Blood-Blackfoot could not bear disgrace, especially in public. The preceding four quotations from Schultz indicate shame as a significant variable. Shame, as it has been developed through the preceding parts of this chapter, is strongly related to male/female role differentiation. Thus, it would appear that there is considerable evidence for the judgment that many of the rejected occupations have in common a confusion of or potential confusion of role identity as regards male and female identification.

[462] [562]

593 This relationship appears to color other aspects of Blackfoot interests.

> "Is it because you love me no more that you tell me this?" And when I replied that I was thinking only of her comfort, she added: "I am no white woman, to be housed up, and waited on. It is my duty to go with you and do the cooking; keeping the lodge warm; do all I can to make you comfortable."52

Again the stress is on the complementary nature of male-female roles, and again the boundaries of this particular set of role expectations are set at the edge of the Indian community. Particularly noteworthy in this quotation is

462

000

As among the Indians in general, the lot of a Plains Indian woman was not an easy one. The men hunted, fought, and made their own weapons. The rest was left to the women. As Maximilian observed, "The women, who in general are well-treated among the Blackfeet [*that is, presumably, if one overlooks the custom of nose-chopping; see Maximilian's entry for August 15*], have to perform all the heavy work. They pitch the tents, chop sod, and lay it around the hem of the tents at the base. They cook, cut, gather and carry home the firewood, tan the hides, and care for the pieces of clothing. In short, they are rather busy." *Opposite:* a young Piegan Blackfoot woman whose husband allowed her to pose in return for a gift of vermilion and glass beads. *Above:* A Snake Indian woman, wife of the *engagé* Marcereau. Maximilian attributed her dark complexion to a liver disorder.

562 ●
462
124
000

A, [See Category 291, p. 126--Analyst]

[p. 127]